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OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF WISCONSIN

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. XII

Published by Authority of Law

MADISON, WISCONSIN
DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTERS
1892

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CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page.

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, steel portrait . . . . . Frontispiece
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY for 1891–92 vi
PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY, 1850–92 ix
PREFACE xvii

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER — A MEMOIR. *The Editor* 1
ILLUSTRATIONS: Steel portrait of Dr. Draper (frontispiece); process portrait, from painting by Stuart 16

PAPERS FROM THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES — 1767–1814 23
PAPERS: *Letters* — Duke of York, 121; Sir Guy Carleton, 23, 33, 46, 47; Gen. Frederick Haldimand, 56, 58; Gen. James Wilkinson, 100; Gen. Gordon Drummond, 117, 118; Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton, 45; Lieut. Gov. Patrick Sinclair, 52, 56; Lieut. Gov. John Hay, 71; Sir John Johnson, 83; Col. Robert Dickson, 111; Lieut. Col. Henry Hope, 61; Lieut. Col. W. McKay, 115; Maj. A. S. de Peyster, 41, 44, 49, 53; Maj. Edw. Baker Littlehales, 99; Capt. T. Spiesmacher, 34; Capt. Edward Foy, 48; Capt. Robert Matthews, 57; Capt. Daniel Robertson, 65–70; Capt. Edward Charlton, 96; Capt. William Doyle, 97, 99; Capt. Peter Drummond, 104; Capt. Hector McLean, 105; Capt Richard Bullock, 108, 110, 112; Lieut. Benjamin Roberts, 27; Lieut. Charles F. Phillips, 49; Joseph Calvé, 51; Gautier de Verville, 57; James McGill, 72; Francis le Maistre, 91; Thomas Duggan, 101; unsigned, 37–40, 46, 115. *Reports* — On trade in the upper country, 41; of number of Indians resorting to Michillimackinac, 60; pay roll in Indian department, 60; of Joseph Ainsée's expedition to Wisconsin and Minnesota, 85; on the cost of Ainsée's expedition, 92; morning report at Prairie du Chien, 114; of W. McKay's trip to Michillimackinac, 123; of a court of inquiry at Green Bay, 126. *Memorials* — Of John Kay and David McCrae, 54; of Indian traders, 76. *Memoranda* — Relative to Indian trade, 78; outfit commonly given to Indians, 102; instructions for distributing Indian presents, 118; of Indian stores delivered to Dickson, 121. *Deposition* — Of Nathaniel Potter, 29. *Proclamation* — Of martial law in Wisconsin, 132.

Page.

ROBERT DICKSON, THE INDIAN TRADER. *Ernest Alexander Cruikshank* 133

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY EMPLOYEES — 1818–19. *The Editor* . . 154
ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENT: Roster of employees from the Company's books, 154.

MCCALL'S JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO WISCONSIN IN 1830 170
PAPERS: Sketch of James McCall, by Ansel J. McCall, 170; instructions from the Secretary of War, 172; McCall's Journal, 177; memorandum by Commissioner McCall, 204.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING MCCALL'S JOURNAL 206
PAPERS: *Letters* — Secretary Hunt's acceptance, 206; letter transmitting commissioners' report, 206. *Reports* — Of Commissioners Root and McCall, 207; of Commissioner Mason, 214.

THE STORY OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR. *The Editor* 217
ILLUSTRATION: Map of seat of Black Hawk War, 216.

PAPERS OF INDIAN AGENT BOYD — 1832 266
PAPERS: *Sketch* — Of George and James M. Boyd, by Herbert B. Tanner, 266. *Letters* — George Boyd, 270, 273–275, 281–287, 289–291, 294. *Miscellaneous* — Certificate to Indian interpreters, 293; list of licenses to fur traders, 295; financial accounts, 295.

HOW WISCONSIN CAME BY ITS LARGE GERMAN ELEMENT. *Kate Asaphine Everest, M. A.* 299
ILLUSTRATION: Map showing location of German population in Wisconsin, 304.

THE PLANTING OF THE SWISS COLONY AT NEW GLARUS, WIS. *John Luchsinger* 335

A RARE WISCONSIN BOOK. *Theodore Lee Cole* 383

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN WISCONSIN, MINNESOTA, AND MICHIGAN, HAVING A CHIPPEWA ORIGIN. *Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F.* . 390

THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGOES. *An Interview with Moses Paquette, by the Editor* 399

MISSIONS ON CHEQUAMEGON BAY. *John Nelson Davidson, A. M.* . 434

Page.

EARLY SCHOOLS IN GREEN BAY — 1818–32. *The Editor.* 453

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS: *Letters* — J. Bte S. Jacobs, 455–458; George Hunt, 457; D. Curtis, 461, 462; Robert Irwin, Jr., 463. *Miscellaneous* — T. S. Johnson's agreement, 453; Seminary subscribers (1818), 454; a subscription paper (1820), 455; articles for the erection of a school-house (1821), 456; agreement with Amos Holton (1823), 460; expenses of school (1823), 461; prospectus of Navarino school (1832), 464; agreement with Alexander Grignon (1832), 465.

INDEX 467

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY—1850-92.

[Corrected to August 15, 1892.]

1. Discourse delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its first annual meeting on Tuesday, January 15th, 1850, at the capitol in Madison, by William R. Smith. 1850. 53p. O. *

2. Address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, January 21, 1851, by M. L. Martin. 1851. 44p. D. *

3. Third annual address delivered in the assembly hall of the capitol at Madison, on Tuesday the 16th day of March, 1852, before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, by Lewis N. Wood, M. D. 1852. 17p. O.

4. First annual report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1854. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. I. 1855. 160p. O. *

5. Second annual report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1855. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. II. 1856. 548p. O.

6. Third annual report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1856. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. III. 1857. vii+547p. O.

7. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1857 and 1858. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. IV. 1859. 508p. O.

8. Addresses of Hon. I. A. Lapham, LL. D., and Hon. Edward Salomon, at the dedication of the rooms in the south wing of the capitol for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Wednesday evening, January 24, 1866. Published by vote of the legislature. 1866. 31p. O.

9. Catalogue of the picture gallery of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1866. 11p. O. *

10. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Wednesday evening, January 23, 1867: "History of the people, as illustrated by their monuments." By Hon. Anthony Van Wyck, Published by order of the legislature. 1867. 23p. O.

* Supply exhausted.

11. The influence of history on individual and national action. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, January 30th, 1868. By Paul A. Chadbourne, M. D., president of the University of Wisconsin. Published by order of the legislature. 1868. 32p. O.

12. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1867, 1868, and 1869. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. V. 1868. viii + 438p. O. *

13. The history and development of races. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Tuesday evening, February 23, 1869. By Hon. Harlow S. Orton. 1869. 32p. O. *

14. A sketch of the life, character, and services of Hon. B. F. Hopkins, read before the Wisconsin State Historical Society, November 15, 1870. By David Atwood. 1870. 18p. O.

15. Territorial legislation in Wisconsin. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, February 4th, 1870. By Hon. Moses M. Strong. Published by order of the legislature. 1870. 40p. O. *

16. The northwest during the revolution. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Tuesday evening, January 31, 1871. By Hon. Charles I. Walker, of Detroit. Published by order of the legislature. 1871. 46p. O. *

17. The early outposts of Wisconsin: [1.] Green Bay for two hundred years, 1639–1839. [2.] Annals of Prairie du Chien. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 26, 1872. By Daniel S. Durrie, librarian. [1873.] 12 + 15p. O. *

18. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. VI. 1872. 604p. O. *

19. The birth-places of Americanism. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, January 30, 1873. By Hon. Charles D. Robinson, of Green Bay. Published by order of the legislature. 1873. 24p. O.

20. Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. [Vols. I, II.] 1873. 2v. O.

21. Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Vol. III.] First supplement. Prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. 1875. 383p. O.

*Supply exhausted.

22. Twenty-first annual report. Submitted at the annual meeting, January 2, 1875. 8p. O.

    This was the first annual report published in separate pamphlet form. Earlier reports will be found in the Collections.

23. Pre-historic Wisconsin. By Prof. James D. Butler, LL. D. Annual address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in the assembly chamber, February 18, 1876. [Plates.] 1876. 31p. O.

24. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1873, 1874, 1875, and 1876. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. VII. 1876. 495p. O. *

25. Twenty-second annual report. Submitted at the annual meeting, January 4th, 1876. 16p. O.

26. Twenty-third annual report. Submitted at the annual meeting, January 2, 1877. 18p. O.

27. Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. IV. (Second supplement.) Prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. 1878. 750p. O.

28. Catalogue of the picture gallery of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, January 1, 1878. 1878. 16p. O. *

29. Twenty-fourth annual report. Submitted to the annual meeting, January 2, 1878. 31p. O. *

30. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1877, 1878, and 1879. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. VIII. 1879. 511p. O.

31. The Swiss Colony of New Glarus. By Hon. John Luchsinger. With additional notes by J. J. Tschudy. 1879. 35p. O. *

    Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 8.

32. Twenty fifth annual report. Submitted to the annual meeting, January 2, 1879. 28p. O.

33. Twenty-sixth annual report. Submitted to the annual meeting, January 6, 1880. 31p. O.

34. Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. V. (Third supplement.) Prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. 1881. 585p. O.

35. Twenty-seventh annual report. Submitted to the annual meeting, January 3, 1881. 31p. O. *

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36. A biographical sketch of Hon. Charles H. Larrabee. By Lyman C. Draper, LL. D. 1882. 25p. O.

Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 9.

37. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1880, 1881, and 1882. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. IX. Portrait. 1882. 498p. O.*

38. Twenty-eighth annual report. Submitted to the annual meeting, January 3, 1882. 42p. O.

39. Memorial addresses on the life and character of Hon. C. C. Washburn, LL. D., late governor of Wisconsin. Before the State Historical Society, July 25, 1882. Portrait. 1883. 41p. O.

40. Portraits of Columbus. A monograph by James D. Butler, LL. D. 1883. 23p. O.

Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 9.

41. The charter and revised statutes, relating to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Also the constitution and by-laws of the society. 1884. 21p. O.

42. Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. VI. (Fourth supplement.) Prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. 1885. 820p. O.

43. Library rules and regulations of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1885. 3p. O.

44. Twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-first annual reports. Submitted at the annual meetings, January 2, 1883, January 2, 1884, and January 2, 1885. 1885. 55p. O.

45. Thirty-second annual report. Submitted at the annual meeting, January 7, 1886. 24p. O.

46. Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. VII. (Fifth supplement.) Prepared by Daniel S. Durrie, librarian, and Isabel Durrie, assistant. 1887. 651p. O.

47. Catalogue of books on the war of the rebellion, and slavery, in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Class List No. 1.] 1887. 61p. O.

48. [Proceedings of the] Thirty-fourth annual meeting, held January 6, 1887, with the Thirty-third annual report of the executive committee. 1887. 32p. O.

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49. Report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the years 1883, 1884, and 1885. [Edited by Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary.] Vol. X. With a general index to Vols. I–X. 1888. 558p. O.

50. French fort at Prairie du Chien; and, Tay-cho-pe-rah, the Four Lake country. By Prof. J. D. Butler, LL. D. 1888. 37p. O.*
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 10.

51. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Edited and annotated by Reuben G. Thwaites, corresponding secretary. Vol. XI. Portrait. Maps. 1888. xiii + 548p. O.

52. Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth annual meeting, with the Thirty-fourth annual report of the executive committee, and Prof. James D. Butler's memorial address on Alexander Mitchell. Portrait. 1888. 66p. O.*

53. Alexander Mitchell, the financier. Address delivered by Prof. James D. Butler, LL. D., before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, January 5, 1888. Portrait. 1888. 24p. O.*
Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting.*

54. Early days in Jefferson county. By Elisha W. Keyes. Edited and annotated by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary. 1888. 20p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 11.

55. Local government in Wisconsin. By David E. Spencer. 1888. 10p. O.*
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v 11.

56. Reminiscences of Morgan L. Martin, 1827–1887. Edited and annotated with biographical sketch, by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary, 1888. 39p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 11.

57. The boundaries of Wisconsin; with a general historical survey of the division of the northwest territory into states. Illustrated by eleven maps. By Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary. 1888. 53p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 11.

58. First triennial catalogue of the portrait gallery of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Compiled by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary, and Daniel S. Durrie, librarian. 1889. 56p. O.

59. Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth annual meeting, with the Thirty-fifth annual report of the executive committee; and the annual address, by Frederick J. Turner, A. M., on "The character and influence of the fur trade in Wisconsin." 1889. 98p. O.

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60. The character and influence of the fur trade in Wisconsin. By Frederick J. Turner, A. M. An address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at its annual meeting, January 3, 1889. 48p. O.
Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting.*

61. Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh annual meeting, with the Thirty-sixth annual report of the executive committee, and the following memorial addresses: Nelson Dewey, by Silas U. Pinney; William F. Allen, by David B. Frankenburger; Arthur B. Braley, by Ella Wheeler Wilcox; Mortimer M. Jackson, by David Atwood; David Atwood, by Reuben G. Thwaites. 1890. 113p. O.

62. Nelson Dewey. By Silas U. Pinney. Memorial address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, January 2, 1890. 1890. 14p. O.
Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting.*

63. Preliminary notes on the distribution of foreign groups in Wisconsin. By Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary. 1890. 7p. O.
Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting.*

64. William Francis Allen. By David B. Frankenburger. Memorial address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, January 2, 1890. 1890. 11p. O.
Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting.*

65. Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, held January 15, 1891. With the Thirty-seventh annual report of the executive committee, and the biennial address on "The higher education of the people," delivered January 28, 1891, by Herbert B. Adams, professor in the Johns Hopkins university. 1891. 96p. O.

66. The higher education of the people. An address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Wednesday evening, January 28, 1891. By Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., professor in the Johns Hopkins university. 1891. 30p. O.
Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting.*

67. Proceedings of the Thirty-ninth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, held December 10, 1891. With fiscal reports; the annual report of the executive committee; memorial address by Reuben G. Thwaites, on Lyman Copeland Draper; and memorial sketch by A. M. Thomson, on Asahel Finch. Portrait. 1892. 100p. O.

68. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites, corresponding secretary. Vol. XII. Portraits. Maps. 1892. xix+498p. O.

69. Lyman Copeland Draper--a memoir. By Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary. Portrait. 1892. 22p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 12.

70. The story of the Black Hawk war. By Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary. Map. 1892. 51p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 12.

71. How Wisconsin came by its large German element. By Kate Asaphine Everest, M. A. Colored map. Madison, Wis. 1892. 36p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 12.

72. The planting of the Swiss colony at New Glarus, Wis. By John Luchsinger. 1892. 48p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 12.

73. A rare Wisconsin book. By Theodore Lee Cole. 1892. 7p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 12.

74. Missions on Chequamegon Bay. By John Nelson Davidson, A. M. 1892. 19p. O.
Reprinted from *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 12.

75. Bibliography of Wisconsin authors. Being a list of books and other publications, written by Wisconsin authors, in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Prepared under the direction of Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary, and Isaac S. Bradley, assistant librarian, by Emma A. Hawley, library assistant. [Class List No. 2.] 1892. O. *In press.*

76. Second triennial catalogue of the portrait gallery of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Compiled by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary, and Daniel S. Durrie, librarian. 1892. O. *In press.*

PREFACE.

It is believed that the twelfth volume of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin will be found at least equal in interest and value to its predecessor.

The volume opens with a memoir and bibliography of the late Lyman C. Draper, editor of the first ten volumes of the Collections, and for thirty-three years corresponding secretary of the Society. "Papers from the Canadian Archives," covering the history of what is now Wisconsin, during the period of the Revolutionary War, were a prominent feature in the eleventh volume, and made it possible for the first time to construct that missing chapter in the history of our State. In the present volume, those papers are reinforced by many others from the same source, of equal importance, and ranging from 1767 to 1814,—a wide field of interest. The student of Wisconsin history has now at his command practically all the Anglo-Canadian documents bearing on the history of this region during the Wars of the Revolution, and 1812–15. Robert Dickson, upon whose adventures sidelights were thrown by the "Dickson-Grignon Papers," in the eleventh volume, is in this made the subject of a sketch by a Canadian historian, Ernest Alexander Cruikshank. Mr. Cruikshank has carefully traced the career of this famous fur-trade chief, whose name was for many years familiarly associated with Wisconsin woods and streams. In the roster of "American Fur Company Employees—1818–1819," are given the names, whereabouts, and compensation of the agents of this great corporation, during two important years—information valuable to the student of the early commerce of the West. "McCall's Journal of a visit to Wisconsin in 1830," is valuable not only as a hitherto-unpublished document bearing on an interesting event in the history of our native tribes,—the location of the New York Indians in

the valley of the Lower Fox,—but abounds in original comments on men and affairs in the then Northwest. Commissioner McCall had good powers of observation, and his diary is a welcome addition to our materials for history. The "Documents Illustrating McCall's Journal," include the report of the commissioners of 1830, obtained from the government archives at Washington, and now appear in print for the first time. Previous volumes of the Collections contain a large amount of material, documentary and narrative, on detached events in the Sac uprising of 1832, but a narrative of the entire episode, with due regard to historical perspective, has been lacking, and this want the editor has endeavored to meet in his "Story of the Black Hawk War." A feature of the Black Hawk War was the Stambaugh–Menomonee expedition, from the Green Bay district, which arrived on the scene of action too late to take part in the closing skirmish at the Bad Ax. The documentary history of this expedition is given in "Papers of Indian Agent Boyd — 1832;" these throw light, too, on the social life of Green Bay at that period, and methods of dealing with the Wisconsin Indians. For some time past, the Society, in connection with the historical department of the State University, has been engaged in researches among the foreign groups of Wisconsin, with a view to obtaining facts concerning the causes of emigration to America, the history of the movement of organized colonies, and their present social and material conditions; as well as to ascertain as far as may be to what extent they are affecting or being affected by American thought and customs. Miss Kate Asaphine Everest's "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," is one of the results of this study. Miss Everest is a fellow in the State University, detailed for work on the German element, and will eventually give to the public a more comprehensive view, the present paper being but one phase of the subject—the causes of the coming of the Germans to Wisconsin. Students of our composite nationality will find in this article much to interest them. It is a romantic story that John Luchsinger relates, in his "The Planting of the Swiss

Colony at New Glarus, Wis." The events which induced the Swiss colonists to leave their native land, the peculiar hardships of their migration, the trials and sufferings of their early life in America, their final success, and the unique characteristics of this isolated community, are graphically described by Mr. Luchsinger. Theodore Lee Cole tells of "A Rare Wisconsin Book"—the first volume of Wisconsin laws, printed in Pennsylvania, but, owing to a chain of accidents, never distributed in Wisconsin; it is a curious chapter in the history of legislative printing, and shows how meagre were the typographical resources of the Territory during its early years. Father Chrysostom Verwyst contributes a valuable list of "Geographical Names in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, having a Chippewa Origin." Moses Paquette's narrative of "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes,"—in an interview with the editor,—presents an interesting story of the various attempts to remove that tribe from this state, describes their present homestead status in Wisconsin, their customs, occupations, games, religion, and medicine, and incidentally throws light on the career of the narrator's father, the well-known Pierre Paquette, many of whose deeds are chronicled in early volumes of the Collections. The history of the several "Missions on Chequamegon Bay" is entertainingly told, with documentary citations, by John Nelson Davidson,—a valuable accession to our store of materials for Wisconsin church history. The volume closes with a number of documents having reference to "Early Schools in Green Bay—1818–32;" these show the early poverty of educational resources in that interesting outpost, and are as well a contribution to its social history.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that, in the presentation of documents, the attempt has been made rigidly to conform to the style of the original, so far as the limitations of typography will admit. R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., August 15, 1892.

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER - A MEMOIR.[1]

BY THE EDITOR.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of August, 1891, there passed from life one who was practically the architect of this Society, and for a third of a century its guiding spirit. In our capacity as an historical association, it has often been our duty to hold exercises in memory of distinguished dead: but never were our funeral tributes more worthily bestowed than now, never was our line of duty nearer to heart.

Although we all greatly admired Lyman Copeland Draper, were aware of his work in the building of this institution, which to-day is his chiefest monument, had some knowledge of his national reputation as a collector and editor of historical materials and as an oracle in the history of trans-Alleghany pioneering, not many of us knew what sort of man was this tireless worker, what his methods were or his personal characteristics. Of so retiring a disposition was he, of so modest a demeanor, of so shrinking a habit, that it was given to but few, even of his literary associates, to understand the man as an individual. It was my lot to be as near to him, possibly, as was any other man: and if I can succeed in lifting for you the veil which seemed to obscure his personality, perhaps the study of his character may interest you as it has me.

Lyman C. Draper was born in the town of Hamburg (now Evans), Erie county, New York, on the fourth of September, 1815. Five generations back, his ancestors were Puritans in Roxbury, Massachusetts; his paternal grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier, and his maternal grandfather fell in the defense of Buffalo against the British in 1813, while his

[1] Address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at its annual meeting, December 10, 1891.

father, Luke, was twice captured by the English during the same war. When Lyman was three years of age, the family removed to Lockport, on the Erie canal.

Luke Draper was by turns grocer, tavern-keeper and farmer, and as soon as his son Lyman could be of use about the house, the store or the land, he was obliged to do his full share of family labor. Up to the age of fifteen, the boy's experiences were those of the average village lad of the period — the almost continuous performance of miscellaneous duties, including family shoe repairing, the gathering and selling of wild berries and occasional jobs for the neighbors. One summer was spent in acting as a hod-carrier for a builder in the village, at the wage of twelve and one-half cents per day. From his fifteenth year to his eighteenth, he served as clerk in various village shops. During this time, after having gained all the education possible from the village school, he added to its meager curriculum the reading of what few books were obtainable by purchase or borrowing in the then frontier settlement, and established something of a local reputation as a youth of letters.

Even at that early age the lad's taste for Revolutionary lore was well developed. He came naturally by it. At Luke Draper's family fireside, the deeds of Revolutionary heroes always formed the chief topic of conversation. There were yet living many veterans of the Continental army, who were always welcome to the hospitality of the Draper household, while the war of 1812–15 was an event of but a few years previous. The boy was early steeped in knowledge of the facts and traditions of Anglo-American fights and western border forays, so that it was in after years impossible for him to remember when he first became inspired with the passion for obtaining information as to the events in which his ancestors took part.

As a boy he never neglected an opportunity to see and converse with distinguished pioneers and patriots. In 1825, when but ten years of age, he feasted his eyes upon La Fayette, during the latter's celebrated visit to the United

States; and to the last declared he had a vivid recollection of the lineaments of that noble friend of the Revolutionary cause. Lewis Cass, DeWitt Clinton, and other celebrities of that day, he also saw and heard at Lockport, while the presence in the village, on various occasions, of the noted Seneca chiefs, Tommy Jimmy, Major Henry O'Bail and others, were, to the young enthusiast in border-lore, like visitations from a realm of fancy. La Fayette was the subject of young Draper's first school composition, while his first article for the press, published in the Rochester *Gem* for April 6, 1833, was a sketch of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last of the "signers." One of the first historical works he ever read was Campbell's *Annals of Tyron County: or, Border Warfare of New York*, published in 1831. This and other publications of the time were replete with lurid accounts of border disturbances, well calculated to fire the imagination of youth.

Peter A. Remsen, a cotton factor at Mobile, Alabama, had married young Draper's cousin, and to Mobile went the enthusiastic historical student, now eighteen years of age staying with Remsen until May of the following year. While in Mobile, Draper chiefly occupied himself in collecting information regarding the career of the famous Creek chief, Weatherford, many of whose contemporaries lived in the neighborhood of the Alabama metropolis. These manuscript notes, laboriously written down fifty-eight years ago, are, like the greater portion of his materials for history, still mere unused literary bricks and stone.

In 1834, during his nineteenth year, Draper entered the college at Granville, Ohio, now styled Denison university. Here he remained as an undergraduate for over two years. He appears to have made a good record as a student, but was compelled from lack of money to leave the institution. Remsen had returned to New York from the south, and was now living in the neighborhood of Alexander, Genesee county. Draper's father was a poor man and unable either to help his son toward an education or to support him in idleness. Lyman was undersized, not robust, and had

tastes which seemed to fit him only for an unprofitable life of letters. Remsen offered the young man a congenial home, without cost, and to this patron he again went upon leaving Granville. For a time he was placed at Hudson River seminary, in Stockport, his studies here being followed up with an extended course of private reading, chiefly historical.

Doddridge, Flint, Withers, and afterward Hall, were the early historians of the border, and the young student of their works found that on many essential points and in most minor incidents there were great discrepancies between them. It was in 1838, when twenty-three years of age, that Draper conceived the idea of writing a series of biographies of trans-Alleghany pioneers, in which he should be able by dint of original investigation to fill the gaps and correct the errors which so marred all books then extant upon this fertile specialty. This at once became his controlling thought, and he entered upon its execution with an enthusiasm which never lagged through a half century spent in the assiduous collection of material for what he always deemed the mission of his life; but unfortunately he only collected and investigated, and the biographies were never written.

From the Remsen home, Draper began an extensive and long-continued correspondence with prominent pioneers all along the border line — with Drs. Daniel Drake and S. P. Hildreth, and Colonel John McDonald, of Ohio; William C. Preston, of South Carolina; Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Charles S. Todd, Major Bland W. Ballard, Dr. John Croghan, and Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky; ex-Governor David Campbell, of Virginia, Colonel William Martin and Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, and scores of others of almost equal renown. Correspondence of this character, first with the pioneers and later with their descendants, he actively conducted till within a few days of his death.

In 1840 he commenced the work of supplementing his correspondence with personal interviews with pioneers, and the descendants of pioneers and Revolutionary soldiers, in their homes: because he found that for his purpose the

gaining of information through letters was slow and unsatisfactory, the mails being in those days tardy, unreliable and expensive, while many of those who possessed the rarest of the treasures sought were not adepts with the pen. There were no railroads then, and the eager collector of facts traveled on his great errand for many years, far and wide, by foot, by horseback, by stage, by lumber wagon and by steamboat, his constant companion being a knapsack well-laden with note books.

In these journeys of discovery, largely through dense wildernesses, Draper traveled, in all, over sixty thousand miles, meeting with hundreds of curious incidents and hairbreadth escapes, by means of runaway horses, frightful storms, swollen streams, tipped-over stages, snagged steamboats, extremities of hunger, and the like, yet never once injured nor allowing any untoward circumstance to thwart the particular mission at the time in view. Many of those he sought, especially before 1850, were far removed from taverns and other conveniences of civilization; but pioneer hospitality was general and generous, and a stranger at the hearth a most welcome diversion to the dull routine of a frontiersman's household. The guest of the interviewed, the inquisitive stranger often stopped weeks together at those crude homes in the New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee backwoods — long enough to extract, with the acquired skill of a cross-examiner, every morsel of historical information, every item of valuable reminiscence stored in the mind of his host; while old diaries, or other family documents which might cast sidelights on the stirring and romantic story of western settlement, were deemed objects worth obtaining by means of the most astute diplomacy.

It would be wearisome to give a list of those whom Draper visited in the course of these remarkable wanderings which he made his chief occupation, with but few lapses, through nearly a quarter of a century, and continued at intervals for many years after. Only a few of the most notable can be mentioned. Perhaps the most important interview he ever had was with Major Bland Ballard,

of Kentucky, a noted Indian fighter under General George Rogers Clark in the latter's campaigns against the Ohio Indians. Other distinguished worthies who heaped their treasures at Draper's feet, were Major George M. Bedinger, a noted pioneer and Indian fighter, of Kentucky; General Benjamin Whiteman, of Ohio, and Captain James Ward, of Kentucky, two of Kenton's trusted lieutenants; and General William Hall, a general under Jackson in the Creek war, and afterward governor of Tennessee. Draper also interviewed fifteen of General Clark's old Indian campaigners, and many of the associates and descendants of Boone, Kenton, Sumter, Sevier, Robertson, Pickens, Crawford, Shelby, Brady, Cleveland, and the Wetzels. He also visited and took notes among the aged survivors of several Indian tribes — the Senecas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Chickasaws, Catawbas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, and Pottawattomies. Not the least interesting of these were the venerable Tawanears, or Governor Blacksnake, one of the Seneca war captains at Wyoming, who served as such with the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, and the scholarly Governor William Walker, of the Wyandots. The descendants of Brant among the Canada Mohawks, whom Draper interviewed at much length, gave him an Indian name signifying "The Inquirer." Draper once visited Andrew Jackson, at the home of the latter, and had a long conversation with the hero of New Orleans. At another time he was the guest of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who is thought to have killed Tecumseh, and, as I have said before, frequently corresponded with him. He once saw Henry Clay, when in Kentucky on one of his hunts for manuscripts, and General Harrison, in Ohio, but had no opportunity to speak to either of them.

The period of Draper's greatest activity in the direction of personal interviews was between 1840 and 1879, but upon occasion he frequently resorted to that method of obtaining materials for history in his later years; while the period of his active correspondence in that direction was ended only by his death. The result of this half century of rare toil and drudgery was a rich harvest of collections. Upon the

shelves of his large private library, now the property of this Society, were, besides a still greater mass of loose papers, a hundred and fifty portly volumes of manuscripts, the greater part made up of wholly original matter, nearly all of it as yet unpublished, covering the entire history of the fight for the Northwest, from 1742, the date of the first skirmish with the Indians in the Virginia valley, to 1813-14, when Tecumseh was killed and the Creeks were defeated.[1]

A few only of these unique documents can be noted in the time allotted me. The earliest manuscripts in the Draper collection are some documents concerning McDowell's fight in the Virginia valley, in 1742, just mentioned. There is also George Rogers Clark's original manuscript narrative of his famous expedition to Kaskaskia and Vincennes in 1778, a volume of some two hundred and twenty-five pages. The earliest original manuscript diary in the collection is one kept by Captain William Preston, who commanded a company under Lewis during the Sandy Creek expedition in West Virginia, in 1756. There are several diaries on the Point Pleasant campaign in West Virginia in 1774. Numerous diaries relate to Kentucky — one of them kept by George Rogers Clark in 1776, and another by Colonel William Fleming during an early trip to the "dark and bloody ground." Some diaries on St. Clair's and Wayne's campaigns are of especial interest. But the foregoing are merely sample treasures. As the old frontier heroes were not noted for keeping diaries, the great number and remarkable character of the rich material among the Draper manuscripts strongly illustrate to all those who have essayed collections of this sort, his arduous labors of a life-time.

In 1841, while in the midst of his chosen task, Draper

[1] He himself computed, in 1857, that his material comprised "some 10,000 foolscap pages of notes of the recollections of warrior-pioneers, either written by themselves, or taken down from their own lips; and well-nigh 5,000 pages more of original manuscript journals, memorandum books, and old letters written by nearly all the leading border heroes of the West."

drifted to Pontotoc, in northern Mississippi, where he became part owner and editor of a small weekly journal entitled, *Spirit of the Times.*[1] The paper was not a financial success, and at the close of a year his partner bought him out, giving in payment the deed to a tract of wild land in the neighborhood. There came to Pontotoc, about this time, a young lawyer named Charles H. Larrabee, afterward a prominent citizen of Wisconsin, where he became a circuit judge and a congressman. Larrabee had been a student with Draper at Granville. The professional outlook at Pontotoc not being rich with promise, Larrabee united his fortunes with those of his college-mate and together they moved upon Draper's tract. For about a year the young men "roughed it" in a floorless, windowless hut, a dozen miles from Pontotoc, the nearest post-office, raising sweet potatoes and living upon fare of the crudest character. In the summer of 1842 Draper received the offer of a clerkship under a relative who was Erie canal superintendent at Buffalo, and retraced his steps to the north, leaving Larrabee in sole possession. But the latter soon had a call to Chicago and followed his friend's example, leaving their crop of sweet potatoes ungarnered and their land to the mercy of the first squatter who chanced along.

The following year, however, Draper was back again in Pontotoc, where he made some interesting "finds" in the chests of the Mississippi pioneers. In 1844 he returned to Remsen's household, then near Baltimore.[2] After a time the family moved to Philadelphia, whither he accompanied them. For eight years thereafter Mr. Draper's principal occupation was the prosecution of his search for historical data, always collecting and seldom writing up any of his

[1] "*Spirit of the Times* — devoted to news, agriculture, commercial and literary intelligence." The prospectus for the venture, signed, "Leland and Draper," was dated May 8, 1841. The one copy of the little journal found among Dr. Draper's effects is dated September 18, 1841.

[2] He left Pontotoc in December, 1843. Journeying leisurely northward, visiting pioneers on the way, he called in March on Andrew Jackson, at the Hermitage. In a letter to *The Perry* (N. Y.) *Democrat*, dated Nashville, Tenn., March 16, 1844, he describes his visit and relates his conversation with the ex-president. See *ante*, p. 79.

material, for he was not willing to commence until he had, to his own satisfaction, exhausted every possibility of finding more. If the truth must be told, our collector had already become so imbued with the zeal of collecting that he had come to look upon the digestion of his material as of secondary consideration.

During this life in Philadelphia, he added miscellaneous Americana to the objects of his collection, and particularly old newspaper files, for he found that these latter were among the most valuable sources of contemporaneous information on any given topic in history. He thus collected a unique library at the Remsen home, which came to attract almost as much attention among scholars as had his manuscript possessions. It was a time when there were few historical students or writers in America engaged in original research; as a specialist in the trans-Alleghany field, Draper practically stood alone. George Bancroft, Hildreth, S. G. Drake, Parkham, Sparks, Lossing and others, displayed much interest in the Draper collections, which several of them personally examined and publicly praised. They sent him encouraging letters, urging him to enter upon his proposed task of writing up the heroes of the border.

In 1854, Lossing went so far as to enter upon a literary copartnership with Draper for the joint production of a series of border biographies: Boone, Clark, Sevier, Robertson, Brady, Kenton, Martin, Crawford, Whitley, the Wetzels, Harmar, St. Clair, Wayne and others being selected. The titles of the several biographies were agreed upon at a meeting in Madison between Lossing and Draper; but while as a collector Draper was ever in the field, eager, enterprising and shrewd, as a writer he was a procrastinator, and nothing was done at the time. In 1857, he displayed renewed interest in the scheme, and sent broadcast over the country a circular informing the public that the long-promised work was at last to be performed, and yet nothing came of it.

Nineteen years had now elapsed since Draper had entered fully upon his career as a collector. He had, up to that

time, made a collection of material perhaps nearly as valuable in all essential points as it was at his death. His accumulations in after years were more in the direction of details, and much of this class of matter, in the getting of which he spent the last thirty-five years of his life, would doubtless be considered as unimportant by most historical writers imbued with the modern philosophizing spirit. Draper, however, considered no detail regarding his heroes as too trivial for collection and preservation. His design was to be encyclopædic; he would have his biographies embrace every scrap of attainable information, regardless of its relative merit. He has confessed to me, with some sadness, more than once, that he felt himself quite lacking in the sense of proportion, could not understand the principles of historical perspective or historical philosophy, and as for generalization he abhorred it. Yet his literary style was incisive, and he sometimes shone in controversy.

"I have wasted my life in puttering," he once lamented, "but I see no help for it; I can write nothing so long as I fear there is a fact, no matter how small, as yet ungarnered." It was as if he were a newspaper editor, fearing to put his journal to press because something else might happen when too late to insert it in that day's issue. Draper not only feared to go to press, but even refrained from writing up his notes, literally from an apprehension that the next mail might bring information which would necessitate a recasting of his matter. At the time of his contract with Lossing, he had completed some twenty chapters of his proposed *Life of Boone* — perhaps a half of the number contemplated. It is likely that this manuscript was written before he came to Madison; it seems certain, from its present appearance, that he added nothing to it during the succeeding thirty-four years of his life. Of his other projected biographies, I cannot find that he had written more than a few scattering skeleton chapters.

On the 29th of January, 1849, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin had been organized at Madison. It had at first but a sickly existence, for there was no person at its service with the technical skill necessary to the advance-

ment of an undertaking of this character. Larrabee, Draper's old college mate, had drifted to Wisconsin, and was now a circuit judge. He was one of the founders of the Society. In full knowledge of the quality of his friend's labors, he urged upon his associates the importance of attracting such a specialist to Madison. Harlow S. Orton, to-day an associate justice of the Wisconsin supreme court, together with Governor Farwell and others, heartily co-operated with Judge Larrabee, and about the middle of October, 1852, Draper arrived in Madison. His patron Remsen had died the spring before, and the following year Draper married the widow, who was also his cousin.[1] The historian was then thirty-seven years of age, full of vigor and push, kindly of disposition, persuasive in argument, devoted to his life-task of collecting, self-denying in the cause, and of unimpeachable character.

For various reasons, it was the 18th of January, 1854, before the Society was thoroughly reorganized, and Draper, as corresponding secretary, made its executive officer. Then for the first time the institution began to move. The new secretary entered with joyous enthusiasm upon the undertaking of accumulating books for the library, relics and curiosities for the museum, portraits of pioneers for the gallery, and documents for publication in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. His administration opened with a library of but fifty volumes contained in a small case with glass doors that is to-day exhibited in our museum as a suggestive relic. The Society's library has now grown to nearly one hundred thousand priceless volumes, and rich stores of pamphlets and manuscripts; its museum and art gallery annually attract over thirty-five thousand visitors; its possessions are probably marketable at nearly a million dollars, and in usefulness to the people of this state are beyond price.

The story of the Society's remarkable progress is doubt-

[1] On the 23d of May, 1888, Draper lost this his first wife, whose last years were those of a chronic invalid, a fact which did much to hamper him in his literary work. On the 10th of October, 1889, at Cheyenne, Wyo., he married Mrs. Catherine T. Hoyt, of that place, and she survives him.

less familiar to you all. By the close of the first year of his management, Secretary Draper had accumulated for the library a thousand books and a thousand pamphlets. In August, 1855, the Society—its treasures having heretofore been shown in the office of the secretary of state—moved into quarters in the basement of the Baptist church, still standing on Carroll street. On the first of January following, Daniel S. Durrie was chosen librarian, and still holds the position after thirty-six years of efficient service; as the secretary's lieutenant throughout this long period, we must not forget that to him, too, belongs no small measure of praise in any record of our institution. In January, 1866, having outgrown its old quarters in the church, the Society — now with its museum and art gallery as well as library — was given rooms in the then new south wing of the capitol. In December, 1884, again pressed for space, we moved into the present south transverse wing, where we occupy three of the spacious floors; and the time is not far distant when our growing needs will necessitate another removal — then, we trust, into our own fire proof building.

During the years 1858 and 1859, Secretary Draper served as state superintendent of public instruction. He was quite as efficient in this role as in that of antiquarian collector. He was the originator of a bill establishing township libraries, and almost unaided secured its passage by the legislature in 1859. The people of the state raised in the first year of the Draper law a library fund of $88,784.78 to be expended for the several towns by a state library board; but in 1861, when the civil war broke out, and the resources of the commonwealth were taxed to the utmost to support its troops at the front, the well-digested library law was repealed and the money already accumulated transferred to other funds before a book could be purchased or the proposed board organized. It was not until 1887 — twenty-eight years after — that an act was again passed by the Wisconsin legislature, establishing township libraries for the education of rural communities.

It may truly be said of State Superintendent Draper that

he was the first occupant of the office to take a broad grasp of its duties and responsibilities. He won enthusiastic encomiums from Governor Randall, legislative committees, prominent educators in different portions of the country, and at various times in the annual reports of his appreciative successors in office, who came to realize, as they in turn examined the records of the department, what a complete and healthy revolution he had brought about in its management.

While serving as state superintendent, he was *ex-officio* a member of the boards of regents of the University of Wisconsin and the state normal schools, respectively. He was particularly efficient in promoting the interests of the former, and, recognizing that "the true university of these days is a collection of books," devoted his energies to the founding of an adequate library for that institution. This service, as well as his life labors in promoting the cause of historical literature, was formally recognized by the state university in 1871, by the conferring upon him the degree of LL. D.—Granville having made him an M. A. just twenty years previous.

So indefatigable was Dr. Draper in his labors for the advancement of popular education, that there seemed good cause for fearing that he was for the time neglecting his especial task as a collector and editor of materials for Western history, and that he might permanently be diverted from it. For this reason, a number of distinguished educators and historical students in various parts of the country sent him frequent letters protesting against his continuance in the new field at the expense of the old.

Dr. Draper finally heeded these urgent calls for a return to his proper sphere of duty, and the year 1860 found him back at his work in behalf of the State Historical Society, and in the prosecution thereof he never again lagged so long as he remained its corresponding secretary.

In 1869, we rather oddly find Dr. Draper preparing and publishing, in partnership with W. A. Croffut, a well-known writer, a book of 800 pages entitled, *The Helping*

Hand: An American Home Book for Town and Country. It was a compilation, culled from newspapers and magazines, of suggestions and recipes appertaining to stock and fruit raising, domestic economy, agricultural economics, cookery, household medical remedies, etc.—a singular digression for an historical specialist. The publication came eventually into the toils of a law-suit, and the authors never realized anything from their labors. It was Dr. Draper's first book.

His next work was *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, an octavo volume of 612 pages, published in 1881 by Peter G. Thomson, of Cincinnati. Unfortunately for the publisher and author, the greater part of the edition was consumed by fire soon after its issue, so that few copies are now extant; although the stereotype plates are in existence. Aside from the border forays of whites and Indians, the really romantic portion of the history of the Revolution in the south is confined to the whig and tory warfare of the Carolinas, which was first fully treated in *King's Mountain.* The book was well received at the time; but in later years Winsor and others have criticised it as possessing the faults which have ever been conspicuous in Dr. Draper's treatment of his material: a desire to be encyclopædic, and a lack of proper historical perspective. But even with these faults, *King's Mountain* is, as a bulky storehouse of information obtained at first hand, regarding the Revolutionary war in the south, a permanently valuable contribution to American historical literature.

Tucked away in a volume of odds and ends upon our library shelves is a pamphlet of fifty pages, by Dr. Draper, entitled, *Madison, the Capital of Wisconsin: Its Growth, Progress, Condition, Wants and Capabilities.* It was our secretary's contribution in 1857 to the well-known "Farwell boom." No advertising pamphlet issued by Madison "boomers" since that day has been so comprehensive in details of statistics and description, or more gracefully written. It was in wide circulation throughout the country, thirty-four years ago, and thousands now living obtained

from its pages their first knowledge of Wisconsin's capital and the Four Lake region; yet to-day it is a literary rarity.

Dr. Draper rode many hobbies in his day. One of them was the collection of autographs of notable people, both for himself and for the Society. In 1887 appeared his *Essay on the Autographic Collections of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution* (New York; pp. 117). In the preparation of this monograph, which first appeared in Vol. X. of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, he expended remarkable patience and industry, and the result is a treatise so exhaustive that probably none other will care to enter the field with him.

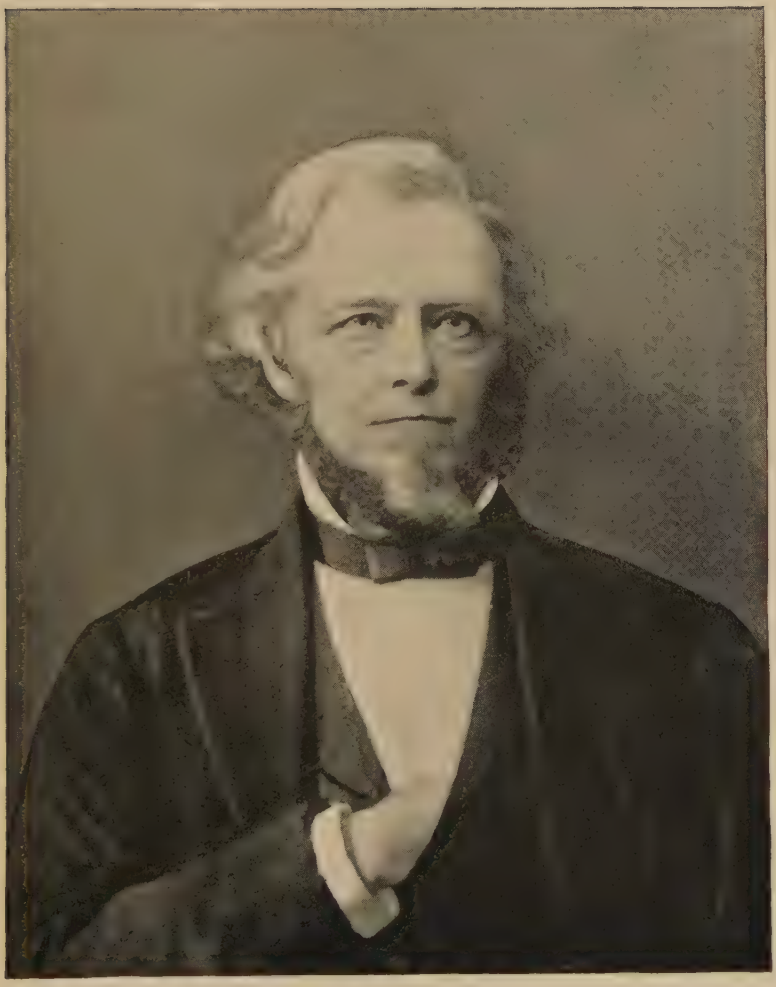
The following year (Cincinnati, 1888), he appeared as editor of Forman's *Narrative of a Journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789–90*. In this pamphlet of sixty-seven pages, he did much good work, bringing to bear upon the subject a quantity of illustrative material garnered from his own stores. This was Dr. Draper's last appearance in the book-market.

I have spoken of the progress he had made upon his long-projected *Life of Boone*, and the few scattering chapters on other border heroes. He had also completed the manuscript for a volume on the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May, 1775 — a painstaking and most exhaustive monograph it certainly would have been, if finished. For some time he was engaged with Consul W. Butterfield, now of Omaha, in the preparation of a work to be entitled, *Border Forays and Adventures;* the manuscript appears to have been completed, but was never published. His last weeks of work were spent in preparing notes for a proposed republication by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, of Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, Va., 1831); he had annotated about one-third of the volume, and prepared a preface and memoir. He frequently contributed biographical articles to encyclopædias; some of the sketches of noted border heroes in Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography* are from his pen.

Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties under which Dr. Draper labored was that in his desire to inform the public he attempted too much. The variety of plans for historical works which for the last forty years of his life he had in various stages of preparation is quite astonishing. Instead of completing these enterprises one at a time, he continually added to them all, never pausing in his zealous search for fresh details, ever hesitating in an excess of conscientious caution to construct his proposed edifices, for fear that there might yet be found new and better quarries.

Despite his ambition to work in a broader field, Dr. Draper's chief work as an historian was the editing and publication of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. Ten large octavo volumes of 500 pages each were issued under his editorship. These constitute a vast mass of original material bearing upon the history of the state, particularly the pre-territorial epoch: all of it gathered by Dr. Draper, either through personal solicitation of manuscripts from prominent early pioneers, or by means of interviews with old-time celebrities, white and red, by the doctor himself. In the garnering of these materials for the early history of Wisconsin, the busy corresponding secretary traveled thousands of miles, wrote thousands of letters, and interviewed hundreds of individuals. Each paper in the ten volumes was carefully edited and annotated by this untiring worker, who brought to bear upon every important point a wealth of correlative illustration or needed correction. These volumes, a storehouse of original data bearing upon the history of our state, are enough of themselves fully to establish his reputation as an historical specialist. Their incalculable value to western historians has been frequently attested by the best of authority — Bancroft, Sparks, Parkman, Shea, Lossing, and others of lesser note, having frequently complimented Dr. Draper upon their excellence and practical importance, and emphasized the debt which students of American history will always owe to him for them.

Recognizing that his physical vigor was waning, yet as ambitious to complete his greater works as in his earlier



LYMAN C. DRAPER.

From Painting by James R. Stuart, in Gallery of State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

years, and quite as confident that he would succeed in the task, Dr. Draper retired from the service of the Society at the close of the year 1886. Unfortunately for himself, he had accumulated so vast a flood of material that at last it was beyond his control, and although ever hopeful of soon commencing in earnest, he could but contemplate his work with awe. He thenceforth made no important progress.

"Still puttering," he often mournfully replied, when I would inquire as to what he was doing; but his countenance would at once lighten as he cheerfully continued, "Well, I'm really going to commence on George Rogers Clark in a few days, as soon as I hear from the letters I sent to Kentucky this morning; but I am yet in doubt whether I ought to have a Boston or a New York publisher: what is your judgment?" It was ever the same story — always planning, never doing. For this Society he was one of the most practical of men, and his persistent energy was rewarded by almost phenomenal success: but our work was pressing: in his own enterprises he could wait — till at last he waited too long.

On the 15th of August, 1891, the doctor suffered a paralytic stroke, which was the beginning of the end. Nevertheless, when partially recovered, he bravely returned to his desk, still confident that his projected series of a dozen huge biographies would yet leap from his pen when he was at last ready. So, full of hope, though physically feeble, he toiled on until again paralysis laid him low, and on the 26th of August he passed quietly to the hereafter, his great ambition unattained, his Carcasonne unreached. Death had rung down the curtain on this tragedy of a life's desire.

Short and slight of stature, Dr. Draper was a bundle of nervous activity. Almost to the last, his seventy-six years sat easily on his shoulders. Light and rapid of step, he was as agile as many a youth, despite the fact that he was seldom in perfect health. His delicately-cut features, which exhibited great firmness of character and the powers of intense mental concentration, readily brightened

with the most winning of smiles. By nature and by habit he was a recluse. His existence had been largely passed among his books and manuscripts, and he cared nothing for those social alliances and gatherings which delight the average man. Long abstention from general intercourse with men with whom he had no business to transact made him shy of forming acquaintances, and wrongly gained for him a reputation of being unapproachable. To him who had a legitimate errand thither, the latch-string of the fire-proof library and working "den" — which was hidden in a dense tangle of lilacs and crab trees in the rear of the bibliophile's residence — was always out, and the literary hermit was found to be a most amiable gentleman and a charming and often merry conversationist; for few kept better informed on current events, or had at command a richer fund of entertaining reminiscences. To know Dr. Draper was to admire him as a man of generous impulses, who wore his heart upon his sleeve, was the soul of purity and honor, did not understand what duplicity meant, and was sympathetic to a fault.

Weighing his own words carefully and, as becoming an historical student, abhorring exaggeration, it is not fitting that what we say here of his life and work should be mere eulogy. Were he here in spirit and could speak, his words would be, "Tell the truth if you tell anything." Firm in the belief that such would be his will, I have with loving freedom talked to you of Dr. Draper as those found him who knew him best.

If not a great man, he was to his generation an eminently useful one. He was perhaps the most successful of all collectors of material for American border history; and it will ever be a source of great regret to historical students that his unfortunate temperament as a writer, combined with the burden of his duties in behalf of this Society, prevented him from giving to the world that important series of biographies for which he so eagerly planned over half a century ago. He has generously left to us his materials — so much bricks and stone, ready for some aspiring architect of the future; these will be of incalculable value to

original workers in many branches of western history, yet it would have been far better if Dr. Draper, who best knew the relative value of the papers he had so laboriously collected, could have himself interpreted his manuscripts.

But even had Dr. Draper never been a collector of border lore, never entertained ambitions in a broader field, his work for this Society has of itself been sufficient to earn for him the lasting gratitude of the people of Wisconsin, and of all American historical students. The Society's library, which he practically founded and so successfully managed and purveyed for through a third of a century — and even fought for in many a day when its future looked dark indeed — will remain an enduring monument to his tireless energy as a collector of Americana; while the first ten volumes of *Wisconsin Historical Collections* attest to his quality as an editor of material for western history. Thus measured, his life was successful in a high degree; and now that this gentle scholar, of noble purpose, of wondrous zeal and self-denial in our cause, has at last laid down his weighty burden, and is with us in the flesh no more, we can say with one accord that the name of Lyman Copeland Draper shall ever be foremost in the annals of this Society.

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Dr. Draper wrote many newspaper articles, signed and unsigned, on historical, literary and political subjects. He was the author also of numerous addresses, appeals and leaflets, in the line of his work as a collector and as secretary of this Society. It is unnecessary fully to enumerate such ephemeral matter in the following list, although there are included therein a few items of this class, having some biographical interest.

In the matter of his unpublished works, the two only are noted which apparently were finished ready for the printer. As mentioned in the memoir (*ante*, p. 15), his re-editing of Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* was perhaps one-third done; the *Life of Boone* had possibly (*ante*, p. 10) been half finished; and upon others of his contemplated works he had made some progress, although for the most part meagre and tentative.

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GENERAL CARLETON[1] TO SUPERINTENDENT JOHNSON.[2]

QUEBEC 27th March 1767.

SIR,—I received the Favor of your Letter of the 27th of January, and shall allways think myself obliged to you for informing me of any irregularities committed by Persons from this Province,[3] as by that Information I may be enabled to take such steps here, as may correct them for the future, and assist you in your Endeavours to prevent all Cause of Discontent to the Indians from hence: in Return I will communicate to you the complaints which I receive here, as I imagine this mutual Information must be of advantage to His Majesty's Service, whose Intentions are,

[1] Sir Guy Carleton, K. B., Governor of Canada, 1774–1778.—ED.

[2] General Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Born in Ireland in 1715, and settling as a trader in the Mohawk valley in 1738, he became a favorite with the Iroquois. He played a prominent part in the French and Indian war, during which he was sole English Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and was of great service to the military department in keeping the Iroquois in good accord with English interests. He died at his home near Johnstown, N. Y., in 1774. His career is interestingly sketched in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.—ED.

[3] The Province of Quebec, including what is now Canada, and all that country lying north of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi. See royal proclamation, Oct. 7, 1763, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 46.—ED.

that His Servants should promote the good of all His Subjects, as well as prevent any just cause of Discontent, to those under his Protection.

That the French who must allways be our Rivals in Trade, often our open Enemies, should take every opportunity of gaining the affection of the Indians, and of misrepresenting us, I expect as a Thing of course; it belongs to us to defeat their Endeavours, whether fair or fraudulent, and by wise Regulations, honest dealing, and by kind Treatment to attach them to us, and avail ourselves of those Extensive Channels of Trade, to enlarge our Commerce to the utmost.

Your complaints of the Canadians, by which name I distinguish the Subjects of the King our Master, acquired by the Conquest of this Province, are so general that I can only make my Enquiries, and speak to them in as general a manner; When I talk here of that Perfidy, false Stories, or views of exciting an Indian War, you complain of, they appeal to Colonel Gladwin, and all the rest of our officers, who were Spectators of the last, and are confident these will give Testimony of very different Dispositions in them at that Time, when such views might have been more excusable, than at present, and that even then some of them were utterly ruined by the Indians for their attachment to us; they very plainly shew me, that such a War must be very destructive to them, and in case of such a Misfortune, that they then did, and would again cheerfully take up arms, to reduce them to Peace, by Force. Ever since my arrival, I have observed the Canadians with an attention bordering upon suspicion, but hitherto have not discovered in them either actions or Sentiments, which do not belong to good subjects. Whether they are right or wrong in their opinion of the Indian Trade, I submit to those whom the King has appointed to direct and superintend the same, but the unanimous opinion of all here, Canadians and British, is, that unless the present Restraints are taken off, that Trade must greatly suffer, this Province be nearly ruined, Great Britain be a considerable Loser, and France the sole Gainer, as they must turn the greatest Part

of the Furrs down the Mississippi, instead of the St. Lawrence, they compute that a very large Quantity of Merchandise, formerly passed thro' this Province to Nations unknown to Pondiac [Pontiac], and too distant to come to any of our Posts, and that so much is lost of the consumption of British Manufactures. They say that their own Interest will allways be a sufficient Reason and Motive to treat these people well, and to use their utmost Endeavours to keep them in Peace, and the Canadians will engage to take some English in every Canoe, to acquire a knowledge of these Countries, and the Language, to shew they have no Jealousy at their becoming acquainted with this Trade. 'Tis imagined here, that the other Provinces, who are neither acquainted with these Countries, nor so advantageously situated for this Trade are the secret causes of their being so severely fettered; they presume to think each Province should be permitted to avail itself of its natural Situation, and acquired advantages, and that it would be as unreasonable in us to expect the Posts to the Southward should be shut up by Regulations, as long as ours are by a severe climate; that in this Respect all the King's Subjects should be considered as Brothers, or one Family, and that the Rivalship ought not to be between Province and Province, but between the King's Subjects and those of France and Spain; some have offered to prove, that two years ago, while they were confined to the Fort, the French or Spaniards from the Mississippi came within twenty Leagues of the Detroit, and carried of the very Furs, that were intended to clear off the Credit given the Indians the year before.[1] They even assert 'tis impossible to prevent them from carrying off by far the greatest Part of that Trade unless those Restraints are taken off, they maintain that the only possible Means of preventing those Evils for the future, and of removing the Discontents of the Indians, for not being supplied with the necessaries of Life as formerly, is to permit them to go among them as was the Practice of this Colony, that thereby they will be enabled to undersell the Mississippi Traders, detect their Artifices, and be the

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 163, *note* 2. — ED.

means of bringing them to Punishment, as it is their Interest and Duty so to do; but supposing the worst of them, they hope the King's Subjects of Canada are as much to be trusted, as the French from New Orleans, and ought to have the Preference, considering they carry up the British Manufactures only.

I have also had many Complaints of the Partiality and Violence of some Comissaries, but as I find by your Letters to Lieutenant Colonel Massey, you are already informed of them, I will not trouble you with a Repitition, not doubting but they will be properly punished, if they are found Guilty, the British in particular request, that for the future these may all be obliged to give Security for their good Behaviour, while in that Employment, but should they commit any Injustice, Partiality, or Violence, they may know how to recover proper Damages in a regular course of Law, this they think the more reasonable, as they on their side give Bond to observe the King's Regulations, which, if they do amiss, subjects them to suffer for it, in the same way, and not to be left to the Mercy of a Comissary, or of those Indians he may Hulloo after them, they begged of me to let them have a Copy of those Regulations, they give Security to obey, and that I would not leave them to the Information of a Comissary in those distant Parts, of whose Partiality they have already seen many Proofs, by suffering many to go out and trade abroad, they suspect for Value received, while the rest were confined to the Fort, that whatever was the King's Pleasure, they would submit to, but still it became necessary to be apprised thereof, as they must considerably lessen the Quantity of Merchandise for these Parts, and not be obliged to leave them packed up, and lodged in a Warehouse without, willingly submitting to let all be confiscated, if they sold for one Farthing, rather than bring them to a small Market in the Fort, exposed to all the accidents of Fire; this some of them preferred and practised at the Detroit. Had I those Regulations, I would have given them a Copy, but I am as yet uninformed of them.

General Gage acquaints me you complain to him of seven Persons who are among the Indians without Passeports,

namely, Capucin, Lorain, La Motte, Pot de Vin, Bartholomè, Bergeron, and Richarville; the six last are Canadians, and have been settled among the Miamis and Onias from fifteen to twenty years, except Pot de Vin, who has been settled as long at Detroit, but I can give you no certain account of Capucin, who is also among the Miamis, it is supposed that is not his real name, but a fictitious one, to conceal that of his Family.

I have given some Presents to the Indians who came to see me at Montreal, as I find it was customary on the like occasions, and think that attention to them must have good consequences.

I am with Regard &c.

GUY CARLETON.

Indorsed:— "Copy of Lieut Govr. Carleton's answer to Sir Willm Johnson Bt. Super'int. &c 27th March, 1767. In Lieut Govr. Carleton's (No 4) of the 28th March 1767."

LIEUTENANT ROBERTS[1] TO GUY JOHNSON.[2]

MICHILLIMACKINAC 20th Augt 1767.

DEAR GUY,—New Scenes of Villany open every Day; last night a Quantity of Rum was conveyed out of the Fort about Midnight, I find that there is to be a Canoe loaded with Rum to go to La Bay[3] which will pick up all the Skins, and perhaps get all the Traders scalp'd.

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[1] Lieutenant Benjamin Roberts, 46th regiment of foot, and commisary for Indian affairs at Michillimackinac.— ED.

[2] Guy Johnson, born in Ireland in 1740, was the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson; at the latter's death (1774), he succeeded him as English Indian Agent. During the Revolutionary war, he kept the Iroquois stirred up against the Americans, and organized and armed the New York tories. In 1776, he accompanied the English troops from Canada in the expedition against New York city; and joining Brant, the Mohawk chief, he took part in several outrages against American settlers in the Mohawk valley. In 1779, he fought with the Indians against the American General Sullivan. On the success of the American arms, Johnson's estates in New York were confiscated.—ED.

[3] Green Bay.— ED.

Potter and the Major[1] has quarrelled, he'll let me into the Secrets he knows; I have wrote to Capt. Claus[2] to get Potter examined upon Oath, it is very certain and no Secret that he declares, he will go off in the Spring, and not empty handed, I am very much embarrassed, all the Traders begging me to fall upon some means for the Security of their effects and Persons, it is imagined there will be Bloodshed in some of the Outposts by some of his People trying to force away Goods these Representations are so frequent and strong, that I have been obliged to beg the assistance privately of Capt. Spiesmaker, that in case he should attempt to make an Excursion to stop him, which he has promised, he has Belts and Pipes from several Nations, which he only is to speak upon, and that in their own Villages. Think on my Situation, my Life, Effects, and Reputation is in danger, he has given the Indians so much that I can scarce keep them in good Humor, tho' I give them more than I fear will be agreable to you. There is the Nation of Cris or Christineaux, that had come down as far as the Grand Portage[3] on their way here, by his Summons to his Council, they were very much dissatisfied last year by Captain Howard,[4] he kicked their Belt about and used them very ill, These have been stop'd by Canoes that set out from this after the account of my coming up arrived, T'was of very bad Consequence to the Service my being delayed so long at Niagara waiting Capt. McCleod.

[1] Nathaniel Potter was clerk to Major Robert Rogers, then commandant of the fort at Michillimackinac. Rogers's rangers were famous in the French and Indian war. See Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.— Ed.

[2] Daniel Claus (written also Claes, Claesse and Clause) had served as an Iroquois interpreter under Sir William Johnson, in the French and Indian war. He married one of Johnson's daughters. In 1761, he was appointed captain in the 60th foot, but retired on half-pay in 1763. At the time of this letter he was one of Johnson's deputies. He remained for many years with the English Indian department and was in St. Leger's ill-fated expedition against Fort Schuyler (1777). His property in the Mohawk valley was confiscated by the United States in 1779. He died at Cardiff, Wales, in 1787. See biography of him in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, viii., p. 815.—Ed.

[3] For description and historical sketch of Grand Portage, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 123-125.—Ed.

[4] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 137, *note* 6.—Ed.

I am told that a man that is gone out for Groesbeck, with whom they say Rogers is concerned, has carried Belts to the Northwest. Rogers says if affairs to the N West don't turn out luckily, he must go off and its thought Groesbeck wont stay behind.

I give myself very little Rest am always attentive to the Public affairs and hope by my vigilance to prevent any bad Consequences.

I am &c

To Guy Johnson Esqr. BENJ. ROBERTS

NATHANIEL POTTER'S DEPOSITION.

Mr. ——— Potter late of Michilimakinac maketh Oath upon the Holy Evangelists and saith, that about the Month of January in the Year of our Lord 1765 he became acquainted with Major Rogers who is now Commandant of the Fort of Michilimakinac, and that from that Time till this last Summer he has continued to be much connected with him, and employed by him in various ways. That he has several Times observed that the said Major Rogers was much dissatisfied with his Situation and expressed a distant Design of taking some extraordinary Methods to better it.

That the said Major Rogers sent the said Potter last Spring to Lake Superior, from whence he returned, about the latter end of last June — and in July last the said Major Rogers had a private conversation with the said Mr. Potter at the Fort at Michilimakinac, in which he explained his Designs to the said Potter in a fuller Manner than he had ever done before. He said he was much in Debt to several Traders, whom he was unable to pay, and that this gave him great uneasiness. That he was therefore resolved to apply to the Government of England to do something to better his Situation, and that he wished they would erect the Country about Michilimackinac into a seperate Province, and make him Governor of it, with a Command of three Companies of Rangers, Independent of Sir William Johnson or the Commander in Chief of the

Forces in America, that this would satisfy him and make him easy, and nothing else would: and he proposed to Mr. Potter to go to England to make these Proposals to the English Government in his behalf, and to let him know in the speediest Manner possible the success of his Negotiation, for that, if he did not meet with success he would immediately upon receiving notice of his Disappointment, quit his Post and retire to the French towards the Missisipi and enter into the service of the French where he was sure to meet with better Encouragement: That he had lately had a Letter from one Hopkins,[1] who is now in the French Service in one of their West Indian Islands: That in that Letter Hopkins had offered him great Encouragement if he would embrace the French Interest and stir up the Indians against the English; That he was sure he should get great Riches and be a great Man if he was to go over to the French, and therefore he was resolved to do so if the English Government did not comply with his Proposals; and that he advised Potter to do the same as it would be much for his Interest; That upon Potter's expressing some surprise and Indignation at this Proposal, as being contrary to his Duty and Conscience, Rogers told him he was a fool; that he had hitherto taken him for a man of sense and his Friend that would join in any Scheme to serve him; but that now he found he was mistaken; But he said that for himself he was resolved to do so if his Proposals were not complyed with; and he added that if he did take that step and retire among the Indians and French, he would not go empty handed, but would in that Case get into his Hands, all the Goods he could both from Traders and others, by right or wrong,

[1] Joseph Hopkins, of Maryland, had formerly served with the 18th regiment, and later was captain of an independent corps, but a short time before the date of this letter had joined the French, being a colonel in St. Domingo. A letter from him to Rogers, with whom he had always been intimate, is given in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii., p. 993, under date of April 9, 1766. Lord Hillsborough, then English secretary of state, refers in a letter of March 12, 1768 (*Ibid.*, viii., p. 36), to "the wicked and infamous behaviour of Rogers and his correspondence with Hopkins." The intrigue, if successful, would have placed Mackinaw, the gate of the Northwest trade, into French hands.— Ed.

he cared not how; and he said that he had already made Preparations for such a step, by appointing people to meet him at a place called Louis Constant, near a River that falls into the Missisipi.

When Potter refused to engage with Rogers in this Design, the latter flew into a violent Passion, and swore that he would never pay him a Farthing of what he owed him, and said that he supposed since he would not join with him in his Design he would go and reveal it, but that if he did he would certainly kill him. Potter answered him that he had allways served him faithfully, and wished to do so still, and had no Inclination to reveal anything that might turn to his Prejudice; but as he seemed to be so firmly resolved to take such a dangerous Step, that might be the cause of a new Indian War, or other dreadful Misfortune to the Interests of Great Britain, he apprehended himself to be bound in conscience and by the Duty which he owed his Country to give intelligence of it to proper Persons; in order to prevent its taking Place. Rogers upon this took up an Indian Spear that was in the Room in which the Conversation passed, and pointed it at Potter, threatening him with instant Death, if he did not swear to keep this Matter secret. Potter seeing his Life in Danger, cried out for help, but was not heard; upon which he fell down upon his knees and begged Rogers to spare his Life 'til the next Day, when they might confer together upon the Subject again, and, he hoped with mutual Satisfaction. This made Rogers grow somewhat cooler, he then pressed Potter to give him up a Note of Hand for Fifty five Pounds, twelve Shillings Sterling, which he had given him in New York, and likewise to give him Discharges for Several Sums of Money, which he owed Potter, and which he knew Potter had set down in his Books of Accounts. But Potter did not comply with these Demands. Soon after Rogers opened the Door and went down one of the Steps that were before it; and Potter thinking this a good Opportunity to get out of his Company endeavored to push by him, and get out of the House; But Rogers would not let him go without Blows; He struck him and kicked him saying, "Damm you, you

shan't come out yet; I'll Cook you, I'll Warrant you," besides other very foul Language. However by this Means Potter at last got out of the House, and went to his own Lodging. The People were all exceedingly surprised at this Behaviour of Rogers, as they had imagined that Potter had been a great Friend and Favorite of Rogers, as in Truth he had been 'till this extraordinary Conversation, which he did not at that Time communicate to any Body. The next day Potter went out to take a walk; and during this short absence, Rogers took from Potter's Lodging a Silver hilted sword worth six Guineas. a Fowling Piece, twenty Pounds weight of Beaver Skins, a Hat, and other wearing apparel. Potter upon his Return from his Walk met Rogers on the Parade, who asked him what he thought of Things then, Potter answered that he continued in the same way of thinking as the Day before; which put Rogers into a violent Passion, and made him Swear that he would not let Potter go out of the Garrison. Potter went home and did not yet tell what had passed. The third Day Rogers again asked Potter what his thoughts were upon the Matters he had proposed to him, who again refused to join with him in his Designs; Whereupon Rogers knocked him down, and bid the Guard take care of him; But they, seeing that Rogers was in a violent Passion when he gave this order, did not obey it, and Potter was not confined, but went home strait to his Lodging. Then several Persons who had been Witnesses of the ill Treatment he had received from Rogers and were both surprised and shocked at it, went to see him; and amongst the rest Mr. Roberts the Commissary, who advised him to apply to Captain Spicemaker,[1] the Commanding officer of the Troops, for Protection. Potter did so and received the Captains Protection, and received no further Injury from Rogers after that Time. On the twenty ninth of August last he left Michilimakinac, and

[1] Captain-lieutenant Frederick Christopher Spiesmacher, of the 60th (Royal American) regiment of foot. The battalion to which he was attached was sent to the West Indies in 1722, and it is thought that he died there in 1782. -- Ed.

some Days, or the Day before, he acquainted Mr. Roberts the Commissary, with Roger's private conversation above mentioned, which had been the occasion of their Quarrel. Before he left Michilimakinac, Rogers sent him word that, if he would not hurt him, he would pay him his Debt. Potter supposes that by the Expression *if he would not hurt him* Rogers must have meant, *if he would not discover the aforesaid private conversation.* Rogers never returned him the Sword, and hat, and Beaver Skins, and other things that were taken out of his Room. Potter says that Rogers is in Debt to almost all the Traders about Michilimakinac, to the amount of a hundred thousand French Livres, all which Debts have been contracted since he has been at Michilimakinac. He says that Rogers told him in the conversation aforesaid that he had sent eleven Canoes loaded with Goods to Lake Superior and Lake .....[name illegible] and other Places of Indian Trade, Potter says that, Rogers seems to him to be cultivating an interest with the Indians in order to retreat to them, when he shall execute his Purpose of leaving the British Services; and he suspects that one Stoote and one Atherton design to go off with him.

Sworn before William Hey Esqr[1] His Majesty's Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec at Montreal in the said Province this 29th Day of September 1767.

(Signed) Wm Hey C. I.

(signed) Nathl. Potter

Indorsed:—"Copy of a Deposition taken before Chief Justice Hey at Montreal the 28th Sepr 1767. In Lieut Govr Carleton's (No 14) of the 9th Octr 1767."

CARLETON TO RICHARD SUTTON.

Quebec 9th October 1767.

Sir,—The Bearer of this is Mr. Potter, upon whose Subject, by another Conveyance, I write very fully to Lord Shelburne,[2] before whom he is desirous of laying some Matters

[1] William Hey (or Hay), chief justice of Quebec, went to Canada with Governor Carleton in 1766, and served until about 1779.—Ed.

[2] English secretary of state.—Ed.

of Consequence, which occasion his Voyage to Britain, and for which Purpose I am to request your introducing him to his Lordship.

I am Sir Your most obedient Humble Servant

GUY CARLETON.

Richard Sutton Esqr

Indorsed:—"Quebec 9th October 1767. Lieut Govr Carleton—R; S. R; 14th Novr—By Mr. Potter."

CAPTAIN SPIESMACHER TO ———.*

MICHILIMACKINAC the 30th of Jany 1768—

SIR,—The 6th Decr last I recd an Express from the Commr in Chieff who appointed me as commr. to this post, & orders to confine Major Rogers for High Treason, which was doen accordingly, by assistance & Deligancy of Lt Christie[1] who we put under grat obligation to him an for his wachfulness & care, the only oficer I had for duty. In his confinement we took much notice of his behavior, which was very suspitios.

The 30th of Jany last happily for us & this Post, cum in the Evening a Canadien born here & spoak the Indian languach, boren with natural Sence, told me he had a Secret of great importance to communicate to me and that it was now time to discover it, But wanted my Honour in Pledge, as he thought his Life was in danger by the Soldiers and others, if he was known to be the discoverer, I granted his request. He then informed me that Majr. Rogers had sent him several message by his formerly servant or orderly man David follerton [Fullerton] 60 Regmt to doe what he could to save his Life and the Soldier told him, that the Majr. was in the Frens [French] intrest, and would make his fortune. The Informer heard him with patiance, and told him he would see the Majr. soon, but wanted to know how many Friends he had in general to assis'd him, with his design in geting his Liberty, and what they were, David answer'd he was his Friend, and all the soldiers in general

[1] Lieutenant John Christie, 60th (Royal American) regiment of foot.—ED.

except 3 or 4. Lt. Christie's and one old German, 60 Regmt and one man of the artillerie Finsh [Finch].

The next night he went to the Major, who told him that his Designs was first to beg of him, to get the Savages in his Interest to decoy me & Lt. Christie out the fort, Ens'n Johnston[1] diverting his time at the mission, a farm, was easy to git at, after this being throw to the mercy of the Savages, the rest the Major would untertaking, being assur'd the Sergeants would then Deliver him the Keys (:meaning when he had a number of Savages:) to awe the Soldiers, he then was determined to make a fortune before he joyn'd the French on Missisipie, and not to go bear handet, for as soon the Fort was his, he should have Powder and Cannon plenty to Take Detroit, and after Ilinois, that his life or Death was in his hand, for without his help he would be shot or Hanged. He then told him, he did not now, but he would assis'd him, they then parted for that night tellen him he hoped to see him soon, the Informer Further told him that the Major had beg'd him to go hunting, by my leave, in order to better cloth his design, to get the Savages (namen several Lee Fourchi[2] le Grant Sable & Mongamike, of Different nation, who he was certain was his Friends:) to make sure of me & Lt Christie, and also Frobisiere marcht from Montreal, then everything would be well, then the Frensh had You Battallion waiting for him at present Comdt by Col Hopkin, who had often wrot for him, I was siland, and the Informer believed I was in doubt, it is up [upon] my concence the truth word for word what I have declared, and to give you plain proof, come to morrow night at a place where you can hear and not be seen, where I will call David Secretly to be convinced of the truth, then I look'd on him to be satisfie' and told me Further you may give the Secret to Lt Christie who I look upon a vere good man & consult with him in an affair of sutch consequence to give his atvice.

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[1] Ensign Robert Johnson, 60th (Royal American) regiment of foot.— Ed.

[2] La Fourche (The Fork), an Ottawa chief more commonly called King Nissowagnet. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 100, for his relationship to the Langlades and Charles Gautier de Verville.— Ed.

I had made a scrole [manuscript] of the above showed it to Lt Christie who was Estonished of sutch Villainas designs, we then consulted the best of our knoledge, to discover the whole in form, I then asked Lt Christie if he thought proper to take Mr. Frobisiere with me, who understoot Frensh (while the Conspiration was carry'd on in that Languech;) he answered to better, and a gentleman we can trust upon, accordingly we went in the Evening Secretly, the Informer put us in a sort of store house in a place where we could not be seen, David did arrive, who we could see & hear their conversation, about the time as above mentioned from David, after this assurd of the truth we went to Lt Christie, atvised that David not should be confined, and still to do duty, we then conjunctly consulted ferder to get more certainety, Mr. Frobisiere then proposed a sceam, that the Informer should one more goe to the Major to assure him his Friendship, and at the same time to now what the Major was to do for him, for so great an undertaking, he did as deseer'd and the same Evening he Return'd the 4 night of Febry. to our Joy he brought to me a promissing not, which he saw wrot and Signd, by Majr. Rogers now in my possession.

The words are wrot as follows

At Michilimakinac 4th Febry 1768

I promiss to pay M. Josph Ans[1] annaly an hundert Pound for Five years successfelly to carry me to Mr. Hopkins.

as witness my Hand

Robt: Rogers

The whole being this settled and found that all was true and without doubt and discovert every things, and Different Oaths taken signd and Seald, Lt Christie untertook tho very unwell to keep a strick guard till Revaillee Beating, David being on guard, should be confined, at that time in my Room, until we should ..... [MS. illegible] the disposition of the two Companies of the ..... [MS. illegible] and the man of the Artillerie, who we immagine

[1] Louis Joseph Ainsée, Indian interpreter at Michilimackinac.— Ed.

to be in the interest of the Treaters [traders], David was privatly brought to my Room, Burst into tears Beging his life, cursing Rogers and wife, and confes'd his Treacherous designs as above, Rogers and David are now in Irons and centrys over them and the guard in the majors Houss Res'd [restored] till the Vessel arriv'd to take them from this.

I am Sir Your obedt humble servt

T. SPIESMACHER Capt.
in 60th Regt

P. S. Major Rogers had last Spring, wrot for Mr. Ans, then at St. Joseph, to come to this, and be his interpreter, but had declar'd since, that his real design was to have sent him to [the] Missisipie to invite Capt. Hopkins, with a few men, and on his arrival, should Deliver this Fort into his hands.

T. Sp.

Indorsed: — "Letter of Intelligence from Michillimakinac, relative to Major Rogers, delivered to Lord Hillsborough by Mr. Guinand, a Merchant of London.—A 24 Read by the King."

——— TO LIEUT. COL. BRUCE.[1]

NEW YORK August 10th 1773.

SIR,—

* * * * * * * *

I am very sorry to see that Mr. Baxter has met with so bad Success in his Attempts of the Mines, I shall gladly hear your opinion of the causes of his Want [of] Success, whither there are any mines about Lake Superior & in short all such observations, of either Natural or Political which at any Time you may get from the Indians and others.

I am Sir &ca.

To Lieut: Colonel Bruce or officer commanding the Troops at Halifax.

[1] Hon. Thomas Bruce, 60th (Royal American) regiment of foot.— ED.

——— TO LORD DARTMOUTH.[1]

NEW YORK 31 August 1773

MY LORD,—

* * * * * * * *

From Michillimakinac, where everything was quiet the first of July last, I am informed that the persons who had undertaken to work some of the Copper mines about Lake Superior are now on the point of relinquishing the enterprise and that some of them have already abandoned it.

I have the honor to be &c.

Indorsed:—"Right Honble Earl of Dartmouth 31 August, 1773."

——— TO CAPTAIN VATTAS.[2]

NEW YORK 26th December 1773.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving your Letter of the 8th of September on the 13th Ultimo, containing the disagreeable account of the bad success which the Company who had undertaken the Copper Works, has met with, I am afraid that their want of Success is not so much owing to the mismanagement of their Agent as to want of foresight in providing the necessities requisite for such an undertaking, the want of which at that immense distance must have overturned their Scheme at once — I am very glad to see by your Account, that the Trade of Furrs has been so successful tho' the jealousy of the Traders would represent in another Light.

As your Regiment is to be sent to England next Summer, and that the relief will take place as Early in the Season as the Navigation of the Lakes will permit, you will be pleased to prepare all the informations for your successor in the Command which your knowledge of the Country & of Indian Affairs will enable you to do.

I am with great regard Sir &c.

To Captain Vattas 10th Regiment of officers commanding at Michillimackinac.

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[1] First lord of trade. The letter has no signature.— ED.

[2] Captain John Vattas (or Vatass), senior captain of the 10th regiment of foot. This letter has no signature.— ED.

——— TO MAJOR BASSETT.[1]

NEW YORK April 30th 1774.

SIR,—Having Judged it Expedient for His Majesty's Service to send Mr. John Hay[2] to the Illinois, on a particular Service, you will be pleased to give him all the assistance in your Power towards promoting the success of his undertaking.

I herewith send you two Proclamations one in English and the other in French which with the extract of the King's Proclamation relative thereto you will order to be made as publick as the nature of them will admit, causing copies of them to be affixed in the most publick places and taking proper measures to convince the Indians of His Majesty's Gracious attention to their Interest and their future Peace.

You will observe to oppose any encroachments on purchases contrary to the meaning & intent of the Royal Proclamation, by such measures as will to you appear most consistent.

I am with great regard Sir &ca.

To Major Bassett 10th Regiment or Officer Commanding at Detroit.

——— TO LIEUT. COL. CALDWELL.[3]

OFF POINT AU FER[4] 6th Octr, 1776.

SIR,—Mr. Langlade[5] being on his return to Michillimakinac to pass by your post I recommended him to your notice as [a] man I have had reason to be very much satisfied

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[1] Major Henry Bassett (or Bossett), 10th regiment of foot. This letter is without signature.—ED.

[2] Ensign John Hay, 4th (King's Own) regiment of foot, commissary at Detroit.—ED.

[3] Lieutenant Colonel John Caldwell, 8th (The King's) regiment of foot. This letter has no signature.—ED.

[4] On Lake Champlain.—ED.

[5] Charles Michel de Langlade, of Green Bay, in the employ of the English as Indian agent. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., pp. 123–187, 405–408; viii., pp. 209–223. For other references to him in the Canadian archives, consult index to *Id.*, xi.—ED.

with and who from his influence amongst the Indians of that district may be of very much use to His Majesty's affairs — I have authorised him to bring down 200 of them early next spring.

I am just now upon the point of proceeding upon the Lake with our armed Vessels and boats in order to clear that place of the Rebels who are upon it with a considerable naval force. I fear the season is too far advanced for anything further this year. I should be glad you gave directions that all which can be spared of the 8th Regiment & all the Indians of your neighborhood be prepared to take the field early in the spring—

I beg to have all the Intelligence you procure from time to time—

I am & ca.

To Lieut. Col. Caldwell.

——— TO CAPTAIN DE PEYSTER.[1]

OFF POINT AU FER 6th October 1776.

SIR,—I think it necessary to acquaint you that I have been very much satisfied with the conduct of Mr. Langlade but quite the contrary with that of Anis [Ainssé] & Gauthier[2] who have shown nothing but deceit & have been attentive only to their own concerns, and personal interest. I have commissioned Langlade to bring me down 200 chosen Indians in the Spring, in which I beg you to give him every assistance in your power and to dispatch him as early as possible — I send you two medals and a Gorget for chiefs whom Mr. Langlade will inform you of. I am just going with the armed Vessels and boats to endeavour to clear the Lake of the Rebels who are upon it with a considerable

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[1] Captain (familiarly known as Major) Arent Schuyler de Peyster, 8th (The King's) regiment of foot, commandant at Michillimackinac from 1774 to 1779. See biographical sketch, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 97.— ED.

[2] Charles Gautier de Verville, of Green Bay. He was a nephew of Charles Michel de Langlade, and, like him, an Indian agent for the British in the country west of Lake Michigan. See sketch, *Ibid.*, p. 97.— ED.

naval force; but I do not expect to be able to accomplish more this season.

I am &c

To Captain Depeyster.

DE PEYSTER TO ———.

MICHILIMACKINAC 12th April 1777.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the season affords me an early opportunity of sending of provisions to meet Monsr Langlad's Indians at La. baye [Green Bay].

I have seen many Indians during the course of the winter who are all well inclined; the only fear I have now is the not being able to prevent the whole country from going down. Such as are prevented will take it ill, they must however be diverted from it.

(signed)

AR. S. DE PEYSTER.

Indorsed:—"Extract of a Letter from A. S. De Peyster dated Michilimakinac 12th April 1777. In Sr. G. Carlton's lre of 3rd July 1777."

TRADE IN THE UPPER COUNTRY.[1]

Memorandums relative to the Trade in the Upper Country as far as it is carried on by the Grand River[2] either to Michellimackinac, or La Grande Portage, collected from the opinions of different Persons concerned in that Trade and well acquainted with the nature of it.

It is a Trade carried on at great risk, Laber and expense, as well to the person, as to the Property, of those who are immediately interested in it and therefore, it cannot be expected, that the Traders in General, are men of substance few of them are able to purchase, with Ready Money, such goods as they want for their Trade and therefore are indebted, to the Merchants of Montreal, from year to year

[1] An English military memorandum on the state of the fur trade in the Northwest, without date, but apparently written in the spring of 1777.—ED.

[2] Ottawa River.—ED.

till such time as a Return is made in the Furrs &c. the Merchants of Montreal import their Goods from Britain and many of them with respect to Capital are in the same predicament as the Traders to whom they furnish goods, on credit, so that the consequences of that Trade being interrupted tho for a very short time will be considerably felt not only by the Merchants of Montreal but those of London: It is the Staple Trade of the Province, and one year with another produces to Great Britain Returns, to the amount of £200,000 in furs of which one half at least from Michellimackinac, and its dependencies, the other half from Niagara, Detroit, the Lower and inhabited parts of the Province. This Trade would require, one year with another 100 canoes which are navigated by eight men and which considering the Cargo of English Goods and the charges incident to the Transportation from Europe and the Transportation to the Indian Country, may be valued at £700, Currency, each Independent of the men emploied, in the Transportation many families are supported and maintained by the necessary expenses and charges of making the goods into cloathing &c for the savages. Of the 100 Canoes above menticned one third would be wanted, for the North West or La Grande Portage, the rest are necessary for the Lakes Huron Michigan and La Baye [Green Bay]. Of the number of Canoes allowed for the last year that proportion was not observed; for the Traders to the North West had 70 Canoes whilst those to the Baye &c had only 20, by which means the latter who were mostly new Subjects could not bring down the Returns of their goods whilst those to the North West who are mostly old subjects had as many canoes as they had occasion for, both to carry up goods, and bring down their papers, and it has been alleged, that they even sent four canoes, laden with Goods to Michillemackinac, in order to be distributed about the Lake Huron, Michigan and La Baye, This no doubt was owing to the greater degree of danger, which was apprehended, of the Goods destined for la Baye, falling into the hands, of the Rebells provided they should succeed in their designs upon Detroit or of being carried by ill intentioned

persons to the Rebels upon the Illinois, then of those which were sent to La Grande Portage. To the supposed danger of the goods sent to La Bay, falling into the hands of the Rebels provided they should this summer make themselves Masters [of] Niagara and Detroit, it is objected that the distance, being many hundred Leagues from Michillemackinac, it would be impossible for the Rebels to send parties into the different wintering places from whence the goods are sold to the Indians; and that the Traders would even have time to collect the return of Furrs, and secure them from the Rebels, with regard to the danger of evil minded persons carrying the goods to the Rebels, first with regard to Michilemackinac, it is allowed to be practicable, as Traders have been known some time to venture on the Route, it is by Lake Michigan, at the Southermost part of it, thense up a River,[1] leading near to the Illinois River, into which the goods may be conveyed by a Carrying place, of several Leagues, and by proceeding down that River, they may fall into the Messisippi, near a French Settlement[2] the whole distance being near 700 Leagues with regard to goods being carried from La Baye by evil minded persons, to the enemy the difficulty is very great, as the distance is near 200 Leagues, more, and the danger of being stopped and plundered by the Indians very great as the savages of La Baye and those of the Illinois Country are constantly at War, with one another; with regard to the North West or La Grande Portage the difficulty is so great as almost to amount to an impossibility the distance is above a thousand Leagues and from the West End of Lake Superior nothing but small Indian Canoes can be carried into the Mississippi near it sources and whoever attempts to pass that way — must run the risk of perishing by famine, or the depridation of numerous Tribes of fierce Indians. If to these difficulties is added the consideration that the Rebels have no money to give in payment to danger of Goods being to them will be lessened, and it is likewise to be observed that the Governor may refuse Passes

[1] Chicago river.— Ed.

[2] Kaskaskia.— Ed.

to suspected persons, and that every person is by Law obliged to find two Securities, renders in the Lower Posts of the Province that he or they shall in every respect conform to the Rules and Regulations of his Pass, in which, (except for La grande Portage or North West) there should be a clause inserted obliging the Person, or Persons, first to go to Michillemakinac, and put themselves under the Direction of the Lt. Governor or Commanding officer who may be instructed to permit the Traders to go into the interior parts of the Country, provided nothing has happened which, if know[n] to the Governor, would have prevented him from granting Passes to Lake Huron, Michigan or La Baye, as it is said that Indian Corn has been ordered to be brought up at Detroit (for the support of our Indian Allies whose Settlements had been destroyed last fall by the Rebels), it may perhaps be necessary that the Canoes for La Grande Portage should sett off this Year earlier than usual, in order to supply with provisions the People, who have wintered at the Place, and as the Traders to La Baye &c have their Furrs, which are bulky to bring down if it can be done with safety the sooner they have Passes granted so much the better likewise.

DE PEYSTER TO CARLETON.

MICHILLIMAKINACK 13th of June 1777.

SIR,—Since the departure of Mr. Langlade[1] the Pottawatamies arriv'd here from St. Joseph's fifteen in number who are all either chiefs or chiefs sons totally ignorant of Bark Canoes. I am therefore oblig'd to send them in a Return Canoe, I hire for that purpose as Mr Langlade assured me you was very desirous of seeing some of that nation their behaviour here has been Remarkably good they came under the conduct of Monsr Le Chevallier[2] a man spoken very ill of at Detroit. I however perceive by the

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., pp. 405 *et seq.*, for other letters written by De Peyster regarding Langlade's expedition to Green Bay in 1777.—ED.

[2] Louis Chevalier, a trader at St. Joseph's. *Id.*, xi., p. 116, *note* 1.—ED.

great attachment those Indians have to him that he had better be caressed at present than otherwise — Charlot Lassossissay the Iroquois came also with them and conducts them to Montreal. This Indian speaks good french and is a good subject Mr Langlade sent him with Therry [Thierry] to St Josephs to raise the Pottawatamies where he fell sick, but nevertheless was indifatigable in bringing over those Indians at another time those gentry would require a good Let down for past offenses and some very recent ones but at Present no nation requires more tender treatment their coming in I hope is a step towards future good behaviour.

Gautier is this instant arriving with the Sawks and Raynards I must therefore hurry them them off before they see each other as a meeting will be rather inconvenient at Present and may greatly protract this Voyage.

Gautier it seems has been employ'd by Mr Langlade to bring those Indians in here I can count in the Canoes to the number of thirty two.

I am &c &c &c

(signed) A. S. De Peyster.

P. S. I have enclosed the examination of the Minominies goods to Mr Langlade by which there appears to have been a most Scandalous Imbarrelment.

Indorsed:—"Copy of a Letter from Major Arrant Schuyler Depeyster dated Michillimakinac 13th of June 1777. In Sir Guy Carletons (No 28) of 9th July 1777. (4)"

LIEUT. GOV. HAMILTON[1] TO CARLETON.

Detroit 15th June 1777.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that the Ottawas, Chippawas, Pouteowattamis, Hurons, Miamis, are come to this place and are to meet in Council on Tuesday next. There are also some Shawanese, Delawares, Quashtanows, but a few in Number.

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[1] For sketch of Col. Henry Hamilton, British Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Detroit, and explanation of this massing of Indians at the Northwestern posts, see *Ibid.*, p. 98, *note* 3.— Ed.

I shall keep them together as long as possible in expectation of your Excellency's orders. Tho' the Majority should return home I make no doubt of being able to assemble a Thousand Warriors in three weeks, should your Excellency have occasion for their services.

I have the honor to be most respectfully Your Excellency's most devoted & most humble servant.

(signed) HENRY HAMILTON.

Indorsed:— "Copy of a Letter from Henry Hamilton dated Detroit 15th June 1777 — In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 31) of 15th July 1777 (1)."

CARLETON TO DE PEYSTER.

HEAD QUARTERS QUEBEC 14th July 1777.

SIR,— I have received your Letters by Mr Langlade and others on the subject of the Indians sent down from your neighbourhood.

Being sensible from the prudence & discretion with which you have conducted yourself in the command of your post that your leaving it in the present conjuncture would be attended with considerable inconvenience to the King's service, it is my intention that you continue at Michillimakinac, notwithstanding your appointment to the majority of your regiment, till further orders; of which Lt. Col. Bolton[1] is made acquainted.

I am &c.

To Major Depeyster Michillimakinac

——— TO DE PEYSTER.

MONTREAL The 6th of Octobr 1777

SIR,— Application having been made to the Commander in Chief by the Merchants who carry on the trade at the Grand Portage for an officer and twelve men to be sent there for the time they take to transact their business there

[1] Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton, of the 8th regiment of foot, with headquarters at Niagara. — ED.

every year and for the purpose of preserving order and regularity among the people who resort to that place, I am directed to acquaint you that it is His Excellency's pleasure that an officer & 12 men be furnished from your post, on these occasions yearly & that it be a standing order untill countermanded.

I am Sir &c.

To Major Depeyster Michilimackinac.

CARLETON TO LIEUT. COL. BOLTON.

Whereas His Majesty's Service has required the Establishment of a Naval Armament upon the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron & Michigan,[1] and I have accordingly by Commission under my hand & seal appointed officers to serve in the several Vessels employed therein, for the reward and encouragement of whom I have thought proper to fix their pay at the rates as follows.

	Vizt. £.	s.	d.
To the officer appointed by Commission to command on the Lakes aforesaid pr diem in Sterling money.....	0.	15.	0
To Masters & Commanders in the Naval Armament.....	0.	10.	0
To Lieutenants appointed by Commission under the Commander in Chief to Command Vessels.....	0.	6.	0
To First Lieutenants.....	0.	4.	6
To Second Lieutenants.....	0.	3.	6

And I do direct that you pay to the officers Serving in the Naval Armament aforesaid according to their Ranks their pay as it shall accrue from the dates of their several Commissions, at the rates aforesaid drawing upon me

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[1] For papers relating to naval affairs on the upper lakes, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 185 *et seq.*— ED.

from time to time for the Amount, as in cases of other incidental disbursements at the post under your command.

Given under my hand at Quebec
this 20th day of Octobre 1777
(Sign'd)
GUY CARLETON

Lieut. Colonel Bolton of His Majesty's 8th Regt. of Foot, or officer Commanding at Niagara and Dependencies.

CAPTAIN FOY[1] TO SECRETARY KNOX.

WOODSTOCK STREET 10th March 1778.

The Posts upon the Upper Lakes which hitherto for want of hands to employ the Garrison having been so small little could be done to, require the greatest attention, it being upon these that the importance of the possession of Canada depends principally, in regard of its commerce, and with respect to the check which that Province must prove upon the other Colonies both at present and hereafter. The Post at Oswegatchie has been extremely ill-chosen and in a ruinous state, it requires either being removed to an Island near it where the French had a work or to Deer Island at the entrance to the Ontario Lake. Niagara and Detroit require fortifying with care and judgement, being the most important from their situation on the back [of] the Colonies. Michilimackinac should be put into a very respectable state, were it not [only] for the impression necessary to make on the numerous Tribes of distant Indians resorting there. The commerce of this back country has extended lately to a very great degree; the Merchants last year found it necessary to apply for & they obtained of General Carlton a Detachment of soldiers to be sent during the summer months to the Grand Portage on the Lake Superior where

[1] Captain Edward Foy, who had been private secretary to Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia (1772–1775). Foy was considered by the Virginians as governor *de facto*, and much disliked. He was, apparently, on Carleton's staff at the time of this letter, and visiting in London. *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, viii., p. 323, *note* 2.—ED.

the Trade has been carried on to a great amount. It is probable that the fur Traders, confined for the future, in all circumstances to the channel of Canada, well digested Regulations, & the Posts well attended to & put entirely under the control of the Governor General of Canada, resources may be found from it, that may amply repay the expenses attending all the arrangements necessary to make for the Canada Department.

I am Sir your most obedient humble servant

E. Foy.

Knox Esqr. under Secretary of State.

LIEUTENANT PHILLIPS[1] TO LIEUTENANT CLOWES.[2]

La Prairie du Chien 27th April 1780.

General Wabasha[3] was well contented with his commission & believe me his Warriours are nothing inferior to regular Troops in regard to Discipline in their own way, it being their first & principle care to examine their arms in the morning, by drawing & drying their Powder and always fresh loaded at Sun Sett —

To Lieut Clowes Commanding the Detachment of the King's (or 8th) Regiment Michilimackinac.

DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.[4]

Detroit the 8th June 1780.

Sir.— I have just received Your Excellency's letter of the 12th February, by which you desire to be more fully informed what occasioned the enormous Expenses, attending the Indian department at Michilimackinac, the last year. To which I hope the following remarks will be satisfactory.

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[1] Charles Frederick Phillips, lieutenant in the 70th regiment of foot.— Ed.

[2] George Clowes, lieutenant in the 8th (or King's) regiment of foot.— Ed.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 122, *note*.— Ed.

[4] For biographical sketch of Sir Frederick Haldimand, who succeeded Carleton as governor of Canada (1778–1784), see *Ibid.*, p. 115, *note* 1.— Ed.

Partly by reconciling the Chippewas of the bay de Noque with the Menomenies, & the Chippewas of the plains with the Scioux, in order to make those nations useful in case of being wanted. A large present sent to the Scioux in order to make them keep the Sacks & Reynards in awe.

By Lieut Governor Hamilton's Expedition, in which I was required to give him ev'ry assistance in my power. To which purpose I sent to raise the Indians of the Grand River and the Dog Plains,[1] which could not be done without taking up a quantity of Goods and provisions in the Indian country, with every accumulated Expence thereon, as will appear by Messrs Langlade & Gautier's accounts & Vouchers sent to Mr. Dunn's office.[2]

By Clothing & Arming a body of Canadians, and by raising the Indians a second time, to march & oppose the Rebels who threatened Detroit. My design was to harrass Mr Clark[3] on his way up the Wabash, and to put a body at St. Joseph's, sufficient to oppose Linctot,[4] with his cavalry from the Pey.[5] Few of the Indians proceed further than St. Joseph's, but I am nevertheless persuaded that the noise of their assembling after Mr. Hamilton's defeat, so contrary to rebel expectations, did in a great measure oblige them to retire and, to lay aside their Expedition, especially as they were also informed that the Scioux were to fall upon the Habitations of the Creoles, if they marched with Clark against Detroit.

The familys of all the Indians were by agreement taken care of & clothed. Canoes were not only furnished for the Warriors, but also for their familys to return home with; those they came in, by the time they reached the Post, were rendered quite unfit for future use. Numbers of strange

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[1] Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

[2] The Hon. Thomas Dunn, paymaster for the military and civil departments of Canada.— Ed.

[3] Gen. George Rogers Clark. For biographical sketch and account of his expeditions against the Illinois and Wabash districts, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 113, *note*.— Ed.

[4] Godefrey Linctot. *Ibid.*, p. 105, *note* 2.— Ed.

[5] Peoria. *Ibid.*, p. 137, *note* 2.— Ed.

Indians resorted to Michilimackinac that year, whose friendship it was my instructions to cultivate, The Expence of which gave me great uneasiness of mind, & the extraordinary trouble I took proved equally grievous to the body, having almost exhausted myself with fatigue, in order to see the Indians pleased, by delivering them every article in my presence, whereby I saved Government some thousands, which would otherwise have been expended without giving satisfaction in the critical juncture affairs then stood.

I am sorry to say Sir, that the Indians are now come to such a pitch, as to make their own demands, and that the refusal of a triffle, if not done with caution, may turn a whole war party. I lately had an instance of this kind, by being obliged to refuse a keg of rum, we had not to give.

I have the honour to be with great respect Sir, your Excellency's most humbl & obedt servant

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

To His Excellency the commr in Chief.

Indorsed:—"A No 2 1780 From Major De Peyster Detroit 8th June. Recd 28th Copy in Book marked B No 3 Page 5."

JOSEPH CALVÉ[1] TO HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC The 28rd August 1780

To M. Frederick Haldimand Governor General & Commander in Chief of North America &c. &c. &c.

SIR, — Pardon the liberty I take in addressing the present to you, which is only caused by the reception which the Sacqs, Renards, & the Aimaiois [Menomonees] as well as myself had from Lieut Governor Sinclair,[2] Commander of Michilimakinac, on the return of our campaign, which surprised me extremely as I had no reason to expect it. After all the pains and trouble I have taken to maintain the na-

[1] Calvé was a trader, and in British employ as a military agent among the Sacs and Foxes. *Ibid.*, p. 108, *note* 2.— ED.

[2] Patrick Sinclair, lieutenant governor of Mackinaw. For biographical sketch, see *Ibid.*, p. 141, *note.*— ED.

tions in the true intentions of Government & to manage, in all things the interest of His Majesty, I cannot then penetrate what are the causes of this sad return unless I may judge that it is from false reports made by the Commandants & Interpreters of this district. In consequence I have thought it my duty to prove that my conduct has been irreproachable, I have applied many times to Lieut. Govr Sinclair, for this purpose, without having had the advantage of being listened to, it causes me much grief to be thus treated without reason, wherefore I pray you to be convinced of my assurance that no one can be more respectful than he who has the honor to be

Sir Your very humble & faithful subject

J. CALVÉ.

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Governor General & Commander in chief of North America &c. at Quebec

Indorsed:—"1780 From M. Calvé Indian Interpreter Michilimakinac 23d August Recd 23rd September."

LIEUT. GOV. SINCLAIR'S REASONS.

There appears to me an improbability that the Indians bordering on the Mississippi can be entirely prevented from visciting this Post annually, notwithstanding they are forbid to come, and were they disgusted by too severe treatment, or bad reception, after their arrival, the Traders in this country would suffer, *particularly those*, who have had merit in attaching them to Government and engaging their services when they were wanted — and if Traders amongst them who can be depended upon, are totally restrained from making any presents in their wintering grounds, a communication of Intelligence with the Post and between the Traders would be interrupted entirely, & there would be no means of employing an Indian until he came first to the Post and thereby the opportunity of his service lost.

Indorsed:—"Gov. Sinclairs reasons against discouraging totally the Mississippi Indians from coming to the Post, or against refusing them Presents."

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Detroit 1st Octr 1780.

Sir.—I am honoured with your letter of the 10th August, wherein you think the Presents are too generally distributed, and that discrimination would diminish the Expence. I can assure your Excellency that no goods are given to people who are altogether inactive, and that I have ever made a distinction according to the several merits, in the donation of the Goods, intended for the promotion of His Majesty's service, & I think I may safely affirm that in the treatment of Indians, I have hitherto stretched the cord to its utmost extent, whosoever shall hereafter give it another pull, must inevitably break the chain of alliance so necessary to subsist betwixt us & the Indians.

The Expences therefore do not arise from any Injuditious management, (having lately sent away 200 Pottawatamies empty handed till they perform a service pointed out to them) But from the number of Indians resorting to this Post since my arrival nearly double to what were ever here before. The Western Indians follow me, notwithstanding my endeavours to prevent them and I have brought over several wavering Nations.

Believe me, Sir! That, notwithstanding the enormous Indian account from the great attention I pay to the service taking nothing from report, which I may possibly in person attend to—I have & shall yearly save the Crown, great sums, even to the prejudice of my health which I shall ever do cherfully whilst your Excellency honours me with your confidence.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Sir

Your Excellency's most huml & obedt servt

At S. De Peyster

His Excellency Gen. Haldimand

Indorsed:—"No 4 Entrd F. H. 1780. From Major De Peyster Commands at Detroit of the 1st October Recd 25th Copy in Book marked B No 3 Pag 10."

MEMORIAL OF JOHN KAY AND DAVID M'CRAE.[1]

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Esqr Captain General, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec &c. &c. &c —

The Memorial of John Kay & David McCrae Merchants in Montreal — Humbly Sheweth —

That your memorialists have for several years past carried on a pretty Extensive Trade in this Province in sending goods from Montreal to the Upper Country to Traffick with the Indians, particularly in the Spring 1778, they sent up to Michilimackinac Eight Canoe load of Goods —

Upon the arrival of your Memorialists at Michilimackinac, Major Depeyster having no Information of the Rebels, being at the Illenois granted them a Pass for that Country for Five of the aforesaid Canoes, which Canoes were under the couduct & in the charge of a certain Charles Gratiot, unfortunately for your Memorialists the said Gratiot upon his arrival found the Rebels in possession of that Country, the said Gratiot has ever since remained amongst the Rebels to the great detriment of your Memorialists, Trading upon the aforesaid Property, without ever having made any remittance to your Memorialists excepting about seven or eight hundred Pounds, Halifax Currency value in Furs, the Spring following —

In April last the aforesaid Gratiot sent off from the Illenois under a Spanish Pass a large Boat loaded with Furs, Provisions &c. (the produce of the aforesaid Goods) a list of the Loading is here enclosed with orders to the Conductor of said Boat to proceed up the Mississippi, as far as a Place called La Prairie du Chiens, and there to dispose of the Cargo if possible and return immediately to the Illinois —

The Boat in coming up the Mississippi was seized by Lieut Alexr Kay of the Indian Department, Brother of the aforesaid John Kay your Memorialist, and sent in to Michilimc.

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 151, for Sinclair's letter to Haldimand, reporting the same incident; also *note*, with further particulars. There appears to be some discrepancy in dates.— Ed.

Part of the Peltry, all the Provisions, Tobacco, Rum, &c. has been made use of at La Prairie du Chien by orders of Lt. Govr. Sinclair by a Party of Canadians & Indians at that time on their way to attack the Illinois — the remainder is at present at Michilimackinac & the Boat Employed in the service of Government.

Your Memorialists have already made application to Lieut Governor Sinclair concerning the aforesaid Boat & Loading — He has referr'd them to your Excellency (which is the reason your Memorialists take the liberty of troubling you at present) with a promise at some time of giving Your Excellency a particular account of that affair which they flatter themselves he has done.

As your memorialists are conscious of having on their part always behaved themselves as good & faithful subjects of His Majesty, & convinced that your Excellency will always show that Clemency & Indulgence lies in your power to those that behave so, they flatter themselves that the circumstance of their affairs with said Gratiot, by whom they are losers of at least Four Thousand Pounds, Halifax Currency, will draw your Excellency's attention.

Your Memorialists therefore humbly beseech Your Excellency to take their circumstances of their Case into Your Consideration & that your Excelly. would be pleased to order the Goods seized and made use of as aforesaid to be paid for, & those that remain at Michilimackinac to be delivered up to your Memorialists, being in reality their property, procured by said Gratiot in Lieu of the goods intrusted to his Care, as aforesaid, & your Memorialists will as in Duty bound ever pray.

David McCrae,
for self &
John Kay.

Quebec 13th Novr. 1780.

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

SIR,—

* * * * * * * *

By the return of Mr. Sarayen of the Indian Department, I am glad to find that the Traders towards the Mississipi have been much protected by the Indians in their neighbourhood, who prevented a like accident to that of St. Joseph. All the nations to the Westward appear well disposed, and propose coming to this Post to know from me, why they are hindered from going to war to get rid of the People who menaced them & their Traders. I shall make them no answer until I receive a return of this Express.

* * * * * * * *

I am, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant

PATT SINCLAIR

Lieut Governor & Commandant.

MICHILIMACKINAC 12th May 1781.

HALDIMAND TO SINCLAIR.

QUEBEC the 31st May 1781.

SIR,—Captain Brehm[1] has communicated to me your Letter of the 12th Instant.

* * * * * * * *

The Potowatamies and all other Indians at Trading Posts, may be informed that if they ever again permit the Enemy to Pillage the Traders they may rest assured that a Trader will never be permitted to return to them — their being on their Hunt, or any other evasive argument will not be any more admitted as an excuse. If Traders are sent amongst them at their Request, it is their duty to protect them, and they must never leave their Villages defenceless, if they keep out proper Scouts & support that Intercourse with each other which the Times require — they can never

[1] Capt. Diedrick Brehm, aid-de-camp to Haldimand. *Wis. Hist. Coll.* xi., p. 136, *note* 1.— ED.

be surprised — much credit should be given to the Indians towards the Mississippi, who have so faithfully protected their Traders — The good Disposition of the Indians to the Westward affords me much pleasure, I by no means wish to prevent their going to War against their and our Enemies who almost surround them & I recommend that it may be done immediately for their Villages, to enable them to which, reasonable supplies will be allowed them — but their resorting always to Michilimackinac to fit out, must consume Time & swell the expense already so enormous.

* * * * * * * *

I am Sir

your most obedient most humble Servant

(signed) FRED HALDIMAND.

To Lieut. Gov'r Sinclair.

SECRETARY MATTHEWS[1] TO SINCLAIR.

QUEBEC 1st June 1781.

SIR,— Mr. Joseph Parrant who was taken Prisoner at La Prairie du chien having laid before His Excellency a Memorial requesting Permission to return to Detroit and Michilimackinac, and being well Recommended for this Indulgence, by Mr. Champion, I am directed to acquaint you that His Excellency's [wish is for] him to accompany Mr. Champion to Michilimackinac and [he] leaves it to you to let Him proceed to Detroit or not, as you shall think fit.

* * * * * * * *

I am Sir, &c &c

(signed)

R. MATHEWS

Lieut Governor Sinclair

GAUTIER TO LIEUTENANT FORD.[2]

SIR, — I have the honor to inform you that I have already entered in the King's store five hundred sacks of wheat ful-

[1] Capt. Robert Matthews, Haldimand's secretary.— ED.

[2] Lieut. Samuel Ford, 47th regiment of foot.— ED.

filling in part my engagement with Lieutenant Governor Sinclair for this article. I expect every day the rest of my Milwauky wheat to entirely fill my contract by which I am obliged to furnish all in the course of the month of July next.

I am Sir, with respect

CHA. GAUTTIER.

Lieut. Ford.

HALDIMAND TO SINCLAIR.

QUEBEC.[1]

SIR,— The season for the departure of the trading Canoes bound up the Grand River being arrived, & the Traders become very solicitous for their Passes, I am obliged to gratify their wishes, although I should have been glad to have heard from the Indian Countries, before they set out, which the Backwardness of the Season has prevented, I have however taken the necessary precaution of laying on them the strictest Injunctions of submitting implicitly to such restrictions as from circumstances unknown here, and the Good of His Majesty's Service, you may see fit to lay them under, and I must earnestly desire that you will pay the utmost attention to the respective destinies of these Traders, who I cannot help thinking under a pretext of exercising the *Furr Trade* abuse the Indulgences granted them, for that purpose, and do many things injurious to the King's Interest, & likewise to the Reputation of Trade, I am not so well informed of the complicated circumstances attending that remote Trade as I could wish, or as it is necessary I should be, I enclose to you a few hints & memorandums upon that Subject & I request you will, with your Leisure correct them & suggest to me all such as your long experience and knowledge of that Country, and your late observations may have furnished you with that I may be the better enabled to give that Encouragement, I wish to so essential a Branch of Trade, but at the same time carefully

[1] Probably written May 10, 1782. This seems to be the letter referred to, *post*, p. 62, in letter of Sept. 20, 1782, by Hope and others to Robertson.— ED.

avoid giving Latitudes which in the present situation of affairs might tend to prejudice what we most wish to preserve. Altho' it is practicable to convey supplies to the Enemy, by way of Lake Superior into the Mississippi, the vast labour & difficulties that must attend such an undertaking, makes it rather unlikely that it should be attempted, I am therefore desirous to give every proper encouragement to the North West Trade. Their views however will be better perceived by you, than here, and the officer you send to St. Mary's (should you find that necessary) will be still a further Cheque upon their Conduct.

I send you likewise a Copy of a Memorial from the French Traders in your environs, who, from my apprehension of supplies falling into the Enemies hands, were not permitted to carry up their usual proportion of Goods last year. From reports of affairs upon the Mississippi, these apprehensions are not lessened, but so heavily do the Traders complain of the Losses they have sustained, that to content them I have given Passes for 100 Canoes upon the conditions I have already mentioned to you, and that whenever you see the least prospect of danger, you will not suffer a single article to be sent. Altho' the observations upon the Trade to Detroit do not concern the Trade of your Quarter, Yet, their being in some measure connected has induced me to let them accompany the others — I wish you to be particular upon the subject of persons employed in the Service of Government, being permitted to Trade, as things are now situated, I fear the evil cannot be removed, men who make Hundreds yearly, would [not] relish being reduced to their Ten or Five shillings per day — this evinces the impropriety of suffering upon any pretense whatever, the smallest relation of good order, these people's service having been improperly rewarded by indulging them with carrying up small quantities of goods, from Time to Time, until they at last become professed Traders.

I am Sir, &c

(signed) FRED HALDIMAND

Lieut. Governor Sinclair

NUMBER OF INDIANS RESORTING TO MICHILLIMAKINAC.

		Persons.
Ottawas of L'Arbor Roche four hundred men with their families, amounting to		1000
Do. of the Grand River & Banks of Lake Michigan with their Families 500 men		1200
Chipawas — Proprietors of this Island		100
For the most part Chiefs and Heads of Families who received presents from them.	Do. from St. Mary's	50
	Do. from Lake Huron Mississagi River La Cloche &c	150
	Do. from Lake Superior	500
	Follevoines' from La Bay and Lake Huron	250
	Indians of the Mississippi, Winipigoes	150
	Saics	250
	Renards (foxes or osogamis)	200
	Aswoés	50
Scioeux Indians, Chiefly the Heads of Tribes who received Presents from their respective Villages.		100
Potewatamies		20
Persons		4020

In all amounting to about four Thousand and Twenty Persons

(Signed) JOHN COATES,
Clerk to the Indian Dept.

MICHILMAKINAC 10th Sept. 1782.

PAY ROLL IN THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

In the Indian Department at this Post were paid:

David Mitchell as Surgeon (formerly in receipt of pay at this post for his care of the sick of that Department —

1780. 15th Feb Alexander Kay } present with the Ottawas
1st Mch. James Phillips. } sent to Detroit

30th July Antoine Ignace } as Lieuts at 8s N. York
30th July Charles Langtan fils[2] } Curry per day each.
present with the Ottawas sent to Detroit.

[1] Menomonees.— ED.

[2] Apparently Charles de Langlade, Jr. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 182.— ED.

1781. June. Blondeau to the Forces with them
10th Octr. J. B. Cadot (at St. Marys)[1] ..
1st July. Roque (to the Scioux & formerly paid at the Post in the Scioux country.
1st May Thos. Stone as Ferry Keeper at old Michilimackinac @ 8s N. York Curry per day, for two Ferry Men @ 4s do. do. each.....
} Interpreters @ 8s N. Y. Curry per day each.

1st May. John Waters as Storekeeper @ 8s do. present
1779. 8th Sept. Augustin Feltean } as Blacksmiths @ 8s do.
1781. 1st April. Vasseur..... } each present
1781. 1st May Louis Varin as Cooper @ 8s per do. present
1780. 1st July John Coates as Commissary @ 8s per do. present
as Clerk @ 4s do. per do, present
(signed) JOHN COATES,
Clerk to Indian Dept.

MICHILIMACKINAC 16th September 1782

LIEUT. COL. HOPE[2] AND OTHERS TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.[3]

MICHILIMACKINAC Sept. 20th 1782.

SIR,— From the very heavy expences that have been incurred on account of Government at this Post, into which His Excellency the Commander in Chief has thought proper to direct us along with yourself to make Enquiry, and from the great abuses and neglect in different shapes that have appeared to us all upon this Inquiry — the following Regulations for your future conduct in the Command of the Post will in our opinion be absolutely necessary in order to reduce & correct in some measure these expenses, and abuses, and you are hereby directed therefore, agreeable to the power delegated to us by His Excellency's Instructions to that Purpose, to conform accordingly to the Regulations, as far as circumstances will possibly admit, until you receive orders to the contrary from Head Quarters —

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[1] Jean Baptiste Cadott. *Id.*, xi., p. 170, *note* 2.— ED.

[2] Henry Hope, lieutenant colonel of the 44th foot.— ED.

[3] Daniel Robertson, captain in the 84th foot, and commandant of Michillimackinac and dependencies (1782–1787). *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 164, *note* 1.— ED.

First — That you should strictly observe the General orders of the 22nd of June 1781 not to make purchases and be particular in transmitting the Returns required therein, to neither of which does attention appear to have been paid, by your Predecessors, without any sufficient reasons to the contrary having been assigned or existing.

Secondly — That as well as to all other instructions and orders that have been given, You should particularly attend to the Spirit of His Excellency's Letter to Lieut. Governor Sinclair of the 10th of May 1782[1] to answer one of the essential purposes in which it may be found upon Trial, a good Measure to post Trusty persons on some particular passes, leading to this Place, with a small quantity of Rum (when the state of that article in Store will enable you to furnish it) in order to give to the distant Indians who may be coming to the Post when not wanted, to engage them to return, to their Villages without advancing farther, the pass at St. Mary's seems a very proper one to try this experiment at —

Thirdly — That you should be very particular in establishing some method and arrangement at the Post, both relative to the mode of issuing Provisions & to the quantity issued for a Ration in the Indian Department so as always to be able to calculate the supplies and consumption that will be necessary, as well as to have a check upon those persons who have charge of the Stores — in no part of which does there appear to have been any method — during the command of your Predecessor,— which has occasioned great abuses and been the cause of a considerable part of the expense incurred unnecessarily.

Fourthly — That as a sort of combination has evidently been framed by all the Traders at this Post to avail themselves of the necessity of Government, in keeping up the Price of Indian Corn, at a most exhorbitant rate, to defeat this in future, till a more reasonable & generous disposition appears among the Traders, as calculation has been made of the quantity at present wanted for the Public service, and the contractor for supplying this article should be im-

[1] See *ante*, p. 58. — Ed.

mediately sent out to the neighbouring Villages of the Ottawa's at L'Arbre Croche to make his purchases at the first hands from the Indians themselves, as far as to the amount, of Two Thousand Bags before any other persons under the protection of this Post, be permitted to go out, to make theirs a measure which with any others of the same nature that may occur to yourself to adopt on a more extensive knowledge of these practices among the Traders, will we have no doubt meet with the approbation & support of the Commander in Chief & which therefore we strongly recommend to you —

Fifthly,— that as great stress is laid by His Excellency in his Instructions upon the great increase of appointments in the Indian Department here, which has been found by us all on this Inquiry, not only to have been considerably augmented since Governor Sinclairs command of the Post but also to be without any apparent necessity in so much as that except Blondeau, who is at present with the Ottigamies[1] — Cadet [Cadott] at St. Mary's. Rocque[2] with the Scioux Indians & Langlade, le fils as an assistant to the established Interpreter, Gautier, no other in the line of officers or interpretors seems to be at all requisite at this Post for the present — and these to be paid as heretofore, at Eight Shillings p. diem each, N. York Currency, and that only a storekeeper at twelve shillings p. diem and one Blacksmith at eight Shillings N. York Curry are necessary to be added to the above list, to which latter appointment your own nomination of the properest persons to be found upon the principles expressed in the Generals Instructions is thought right. You, are therefore hereby directed to strike off from this period all others of whatever denomination, that may be paid on the list of the Indian Department, until the Commander in Chief's further pleasure shall be signified to you upon this subject.

Sixthly, — that as an Engineer will be left to carry on the Works, You are hereby directed to discontinue all the appointments as they stand at present in that Line, and

[1] Cf. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 164.— Ed.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 111, *note* 2.— Ed.

only to pay such in future, as he will point out, at the usual rates, and that you shall think absolutely necessary to carry on the service — that all those useless officers under the denomination of Naval Department, be likewise immediately abolished, and that a stop be put to working at the Vessel on the stocks, & the people now employed on it be dismissed, as soon as the present materials collected are used, or that the Bulk of it is finished —

Seventhly, — that the small vessel which has been taken into the hire of Government by your Predecessor at such an Enormous rate, and contrary to the Generals regulation on this subject, should be & is, hereby directed to be paid off at the expiration of another month & be sent away to Detroit, the continuance of her in the Service for that period being allowed only on account of the assistance agree'd to be given to the Contractor for collecting his Corn to the Post on this occasion, and as she may also be of use in the exertion so necessary at present towards compleating the works, on the proposed temporary plan —

From an adherence to these Regulations, which we think highly necessary just now for the Service, and from the Zeal, with which we are convinced that you will carry them into execution, as well as every other measure that shall appear to you, condusive to that end, the most sanguine hopes may be entertained of a very material reduction so justly complained of at this Post.

We are Sir, with great regard your most obedient humble Servants.

(signed)

HENRY HOPE Lt Colonel

(signed)

JOHN JOHNSON[1]

(signed)

JAMES STANLEY GODDARD.

(A true Copy)

Captain Robertson 84th Regiment Commander at Michilimackinac

[1] Sir John Johnson, British Indian Superintendent. —ED.

ROBERTSON TO MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 1st Novr. 1782.

SIR.— You will be pleased to lay the annexed Letter from Mr. McBeath[1] to me before His Excellency the Commander in Chief, who, I hope will comply with the request as it may be the means of lowering the exhorbitant prices of Goods at this Post.

Mr. McBeath will set out early next Spring for the Miss issippi, which I have already mentioned to Col. Hope, the Intention, and I have great hopes he will succeed in a great degree, of keeping those Indians from coming here, which must be a considerable saving to Government.

He wishes much to have Mr. James Grant here early, in order to do his Business while absent.

I am Sir your most obedient and most humble Servant,

DAN'L ROBERTSON
Capt. 84th Reg't.

Capt. Mathews.

ROBERTSON TO BREHM.

MICHILIMACKINAC 20th April 1783.

DEAR SIR,—This Climate is preferable to any part of Canada, I have been at, and of course very healthy—

* * * * * * * *

Trade is not carried on here to my Ideas, nor to the General Satisfaction of the Traders, the Posts are not half supplyed with Goods and the principall given to Individuals only, which cause *discontent* & room to ask among the Indians as likewise an excuse to come so often to this place.

Now, Sir, I mean to oblige every Wintering Trader to give Security for his good behaviour, his properly supplying the Indians & his keeping to the place allotted him by his Pass. This I think will keep the Indian to his Hunting, for they are all fond of seeing a quantity of Goods. Liquor is their Ruin. This is, as yet, an expensive place and as I

[1] George McBeath, a trader. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., index, for other letters bearing on his expedition to Prairie du Chien.— ED.

am determined by every means possible to decrease the Government Expenses, I hope His Excellency will take my own situation into His consideration —

At a proper time you will be pleased to lay these hints before His Excellency for His consideration and my future conduct how to act.

I mean to send the first Vessel from Detroit to St. Joseph's, & the Grand River, if not instructed to the contrary, for a Load of Corn, as the extra price on it is owing to the Transporting hither in Boats by the Traders.

There is a Mr. Moumbourne Bouché,[1] a Canadian in the Mississippi with a Gang of Moroders, whom annoy the Traders very much, by exacting Goods &c. He is Commissioned by the Spaniards —

There were a number of Engaged Canadians prepared to desert from hence, of which I had Intelligence & prevented, I have taken some precautions for the future, as those Rascals mean to Join Mr. Bouché.

I am like told that I may expect some Gentry from the Spanish Quarter this summer, who were here last year. I believe they should be sent down the Country for His Excellency's Examination, if I am not in time otherwise instructed.

I am always with much regard Dear Cap'n
Your most obedt. & most humble Servt.
DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Brehm, A. D. C.

Indorsed:—"From Capt. Robertson commanding at Michilimackinac of the 20th April."

ROBERTSON TO CLAUS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 7th Sept. 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I have to acknowledge of your's of the 14th of July by Mr. Calvé who I have sent off with some difficulty and great expense, having no wintering men or Canoes sufficient and indeed every want, however he goes away tolerable well pleased.

[1] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 169, where the name is spelt Bouchet.— ED.

The Chepeways of Lake Superior are at war with the Foxes and Nadowessies,[1] I have sent messages to the former on that head, by Mr. Cadot and Matchiquie[2] a Chipeway Chief of note, near this Post.

As the evacuation must be soon I have not sent any demand of Goods, if any is sent they shall be distributed to every advantage — I have had no Rum this season, and as you know it is their God, I hope Sir John will supply the Post with that article —

* * * * * * * *

I have the Honour to be &c. &c. &c.

DANL. ROBERTSON

Colonel Clause

ROBERTSON TO MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 7th Sept 1783

SIR,—I received your favour of the 10th July, a few days after Mr. Calvés arrival here.

I am much satisfied of being honoured with His Excellency the Commander in Chief's approbation of my conduct at this Post, and will use my best endeavors to effect His Excellency's ardent wishes in every respect, I have very little doubt of succeeding while I direct every Line —

* * * * * * * *

I have struck off Messrs Blondeau and Shutye as Interpreters the 1st of July last as their Service did not appear to me any ways necessary—

I am on the best footing with the Indians, and I believe they are well disposed to Government, a little internall disturbance among themselves which I have endeavored to prevent by sending messages to them, those are the Chipeways of Lake Superior against the Nadowassies & Foxes —

Any goods sent here shall be given them and as Rum is their God, it is very necessary, tho' I have had only a little sent by Colonel Campbell by the Grand River this year.

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[1] Nadousioux, or Sioux.— ED.

[2] Matchekewis, captor of Michilimackinac in 1763. See sketch of him in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., pp. 188–194.— ED.

Contrary to custom I have got all the neighbouring Indians to go out a Wintering, which will much ease the Post.

I have got of Mr. Calvé with much Difficulty & expense he had no wintering men or Canoes sufficient, I was even oblidged to buy one to carry down his men —

Mr. McBeath had the Chief's of those very nations in Council at La Prairie de Chiens[1] & satisfied them so much that only two of their great men came in here, well pleased this last Spring, what is done by the Inspectors directions must be right.

* * * * * * * *

I have the Honor to be with every Regard,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
DANL. ROBERTSON.

Captain Mathews.

ROBERTSON TO MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 16th Sept. 1783.

SIR,—I have only to acquaint you for His Excellency's the Commander-in Chief's information that being informed of a Menominie's being taken Prisoner by the Chipeways of Lake Superior, I have taken the opportunity of a Mr. Blondish [Blondeau] a Trader, well known among them, to send word to them of the Peace &c., and to give back the Prisoner, and as I had nothing of consequence to give to speak upon in the *Indian Manner* I gave him a Canoe with a little Provisions & Tobacco, this man goes towards the upper parts of the Mississippi between that and the said Lake, Mr. Cadot and Matchiquies are gone to Point Chagomagon[2] on the same Lake, to him I only gave a Canoe with a little Provision & Tobacco, as my Store could not afford more —

* * * * * * * *

I have the Honor to be with great regard, Sir,
Your most obedt. & most humble Servant
DANL. ROBERTSON.

Captain Mathews.

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[1] For report of this council, see *Id.*, xi., p. 166.— ED.

[2] Chequamagon.— ED.

ROBERTSON TO CLAUS.

MAKINAC 17th Sept. 1783.

DEAR COLONEL. — I have only time to acquaint you, that in consequence of a Menominies being taken away by the Chipaways of Lake Superior, I have given a Parole to a Mr. Blondish a Trader well known among them to lay down the Hatchet &c., I had little to give him, he is going between the Upper part of Mississippi and Lake Superior this Mr. Blondish is well known to Mr. Goddard. — Please offer my respects to Sir John &c.

I have the honor to be with regard, Dear Sir
Your most obedt & hum'l Servt
DANL. ROBERTSON.

Col. Clause.

ROBERTSON TO HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC 26th June 1784.

SIR, — Since my last letter of the 10th Instant, I had the Honor of both your Excellency's of the 29th of March by Detroit —

* * * * * * * *

I had a letter from Captain McKee[1] from Detroit acquainting me that there was to be one Interpreter at this Post, there are now here Gautier paid below young Langlade here, old Mr. Langlade at La Bay paid below, & Cadot at the Sault St. Mary's paid here —

The Service at present require their being employed untill we are properly established elsewhere, Cadot must be very usefull in case of taking Post from this, being well acquainted with the Proprietors of Lands intended to be taken possession of —

Indians are quiet and I am on my guard as I believe there was some intention against us, but they would not bring things to be general, and on my representations to

[1] Alexander McKee, British military agent among the Indians. See sketch, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 180, *note*. — ED.

them of them of the absurdity of such a Conduct they seem at present well satisfied —

If I could be appointed Indian Agent with propriety I flatter myself the Service would not suffer by it, as I am equally acquainted with their customs in the field & otherwise as any [who] could get that Employment —

I have the Honor to be with Every Respect —

Your Excelly's most obedt and most humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON.
Capt. Commt.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

ROBERTSON TO HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 10th July 1784.

SIR,—

* * * * * * * *

I have the Honor to acquaint Your Excellency that not one Indian is come here from the Mississippi this year, owing to my having sent them Paroles to that purpose last Fall. There have been several Bands from Lake Superior, La Cloche, Missisagay and Madjadash, which I was very sorry for, as I had nothing for them, having received no Presents but a Trifle in Spring, 1780, since my coming here.

As there is some appearance of being near neighbours to those People, who are numerous, and for fear of some future discontent, I was induced to borrow some Goods and Rum, at a very great Trouble, owing to the scarcity of them, and sent them off well pleased.

Your Excellency may be assured that this was not through any disregard to my Instructions, but a real opinion of the necessity of it.

I have the Honor to be, With the greatest Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON.

His Excell'y Genl. Haldimand.

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO HAMILTON.

DETROIT, July 16th, 1785.

SIR.—At the request of the greatest part of the people in Trade at this place I have the Honor to transmit the enclosed petition and representation, and in Justice to them cannot help assuring you, that I think their present situation alarming, and that if more vessels are not employ'd by Government or permission given for them to transport their property in Craft of their own, the trade of this place will suffer very materially, and probably cause the fall of some of the first houses concern'd in supplying the Merchandize for this place; if not totally prevent Great Britain from reaping the benefits heretofore arising from the sale of a great quantity of her Manufactures—It is my humble opinion also that if the Merchandize which is now on the way to this place, and which may be commissioned hereafter, can be forwarded early enough to supply the trade of the Adjacent Country, as well as many traders in the Mississippi (who can not barter their furrs to so great advantage to any as to our traders) the returns will encrease instead of diminishing, of which I have already had the Honor to write you more circumstantially—

A Memorial to Colonel Hope is likewise gone down requesting the temporary relief of the Gage being ordered to be fitted up; but I am apprehensive if it should be granted the season will be too far advanced for them to reap any material advantage by it—

Many families have arrived here from the Colonies since I had the honor of writing to you concerning them, and many more are on the way, as they can not subsist long on what they have brought with them and as there are no vacant Crown Lands to settle them on they will suffer exceedingly, and hitherto I am not authorized to do anything for them—

I have the honor to be Sir
Your most obedient most humble servant
(Signed) JOHN HAY.

The Honble Lt Govr Hamilton—

Indorsed:—"No. 2 Letter from Lieut Govr. Hay received 17th Augt. 1785. Quebec H Hamilton In Lieut Govr Hamilton's of 17th Augst. 1785."

JAMES M'GILL TO HAMILTON.

MONTREAL 1st August, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — In my last respects I partly anticipated yours of the 29th relative to the probability of the trade to the port of Detroit & its dependencies falling soon into the hands of the Americans were private Vessels permitted on the lakes at present, anything further which I may observe will be almost a repetition or perhaps setting the matter in a clearer point of view.

You will be good enough to remark that the Upper Country Trade in general, as now carried on from this place, is extended as far South as the mouth of the Ohio, to the Westward as far as the Rivers falling from that side of the Mississippi, will carry canoes, including from the River of ..... [MS. illegible] in Latitude 33 degrees S to the Sources of the Mississippi & to the Northwest as far as lake Arabaskda [Athabasca] including the whole north side of Lake Huron and Superior, the value of the whole I esteem at £180,000 currency for the sake of statement and I believe I am not £20,000 on either side of the reality — £100,000 Value I think is brought from the Country now within the American line as fix'd by the late treaty of Peace; the other £80,000 I consider as being within our own Line — If this Statement is nearly Just & I am satisfied to risk my reputation upon it as a Merchant, the question will be, whither the Americans are likely to take away any part of our trade when they shall have got possession of the posts & vessels on the Lakes, or whither we are not more likely by having posts on the same Lakes and vessels to interfere with them.

For my own part I am clearly of opinion that it must be a very long time before they can even winter on the smallest part of our trade, for the little that is to be had in the tract of Country lying between Lakes Ontario, Erie & Huron as South Boundaries & the Ottawa river, lake Nipissing and its discharge into Lake Huron as Northern Boundaries, can only be obtained by traders going up the different Rivers which water that tract of Country, there

passing the Winter and trading with the Indians — and this can only be done in Birch Canoes, which will require them a long time to become accustomed to, exclusive of the Legal impediment of trading in a Country to which they are Aliens.

The same reasons are applicable to the trade on the North Shores of Huron & Superior & to the North West Trade, in my opinion for some contest that the Grand Portage is within the American line, but to us it does not appear very certain, or if it were, it is of no great moment with regard to the N. W. Trade; for a New road has been discovered from the Lake of ..... [MS. illegible] or Nipigan which runs to the N of Wood, Lakes & falls into the discharge of that Lake ... . [MS. illegible] (which is commonly known by the name of the River) at the distance of fifty Leagues from its N. W. termination — It was gone over last Summer and found to be more practicable than the road from the Grand Portage now in use —

These circumstances being considered, what are the reasons that could induce the traders from this country to dispose of their fine furr's which are got within our Lines? Will the Americans pay a higher price for them than can be obtained in London! No. and were the desirous of tempting with a higher offer — No man in his sences would trust to them, and surely they cannot carry up money to buy them, besides it is well known that were these fine furrs to fall into their hands in any quantity they must send them to England for a Market as amongst themselves the consumption is very trifling — We may therefore infer that there is little probability of the Americans rivaling us soon in the tract which legally belongs to the Province were they even allowed a free Competition —

It remains to consider how far we may interfere with the trade within their line & by what means, should the Americans under pain of confiscation prohibit all British Subjects from trading in the Indian Country within their Line, I make no doubt that the greatest part of the traders who are now at Detroit will become American Subjects, because they will thereby keep in their hands the trade they at present

pursue, for I am of the opinion that the Americans by Establishing a very few posts on the South of Lake Erie might hinder smuggling in any great degree, but at the same time if we can afford Goods at Detroit cheaper than they can & are enabled to give better prices for furrs or Peltries. The traders on their side will fall on means to do business with us even at Detroit, notwithstanding any regulations they may make to the contrary — That both these things may take place I am pretty confident, for we can without doubt transport Goods to the Upper posts cheaper than they can, provided we were allowed equal means of facility and by the same reasoning we can bring down Peltries at less expence — Such being the case we are more likely to be of Injury to their part of the trade than they are to ours, more especially if it is considered that even when they were British Subjects and had every facility and benefit in the whole of the Indian trade, there was not consumed amongst themselves above half of the Peltries the obtained, the other half going home to England as a permittance; indeed except Deer Skins which then formed their Chief Article with some Beaver and Racoons, every other article was sent to England, if therefore they are obliged to send them still in same manner, they can be on no better footing at Albany than we are here, but rather worse as their expences to bring the Peltries to that place will be greater than ours —

All then that Government has to do is to give every facility to the trade that is possible, and I do not see a more certain means of conveniency and certainty than by allowing the merchants to have small deck'd vessels of their own — with them they can ever be morally certain of having their Goods at Market in June and July and then Goods may be imported the same year from England, which will save them from leakage imbesslement and wait of their property besides Interest of money which you know is a dreadful moth if ones allowed to get to any head.

That these Vessels should be under the proper regulations is highly requisite, but time must be allowed for digesting a proper system — the present is to busy a Season besides I would not wish to attempt it alone, and I would be also de-

sirous of having a more perfect local knowledge of Lake Erie than I now have before I venture on such a task.

But whatever future regulations may be adopted, they do not relieve us from our present distress, the last Information from Niagara is so late as the 16 of last month at which time there were little if any thing short of 100 Battoe Loads of Goods to cross Lake Erie, besides from thirty to forty at Cataraquoi mostly intended in the same way — That a considerable part of these will be got over this season is highly probable, but unless measures are taken without any delay whatever to have them transported speedily, it is to be apprehended that they may, as last year arrive at Detroit too late to admitt of being sent into the more interior Country amongst the Indians, in which case fewer furrs will be got, for you will remark that the Indians do not bring much of their Peltry to the Post — the Traders must go for it, they must pass the Winter amongst them and supply them occasionally with Clothing Ammunition &c, otherwise the hunt little and are not careful of their Peltry. The measures which in my opinion might be adopted without any great hindrance to the Service or any great infraction of orders would be, to order that the four vessels on Lake Erie (as soon as Michilimackinac is supplied) do each of them make two trips to Detroit with Merchant's Goods, but that the second trip is not to exceed the 15th October at latest for the time of loading at Fort Erie, after which time they can very easily make another, which I should think would be more than sufficient to carry provisions for one year for the Garrison, and at the same time as there are three or four small private vessels, that, they may for this Season be allowed to sail for benefit of their owners under Command or Inspection of a King's Officer, so as to prevent at all events any smuggling whilst we hold the Indians tract exclusively. If some such plan is not adopted I fear that bad Consequences will be the effects of the present System. The traders will get disperited and careless, they will even wish for a change of Government in hopes of being bettered tho' they certainly will be much worse; but such were

their Sufferings last Year with the untoward prospect for the present one, that I fear few Goods will be ordered for the ensuing or Houses of any Reputation here found to execute them until this defect is remedied. As this Letter is chiefly occasioned by the impediments to the Detroit trade, which I have endeavoured to show you may be removed without giving any encouragement, to the Americans therein. I have said nothing of the trade on the South side of Lake Huron, Superior or to the West of Michilimackinac because it is carried on in Canoes from hence, and therefore meets no obstruction, nor will it be an easy matter for the Americans to get any part of it, notwithstanding the Country is within their Line. In short I am decidedly of opinion that no part whatever of the Trade belonging to this Province by the treaty of Peace is likely to fall into the hands of the Americans but on the contrary that we may get a considerable part of theirs.

I am Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and very Humble Servant,

(signed) JAMES MCGILL.

P. S.—I must not omit mentioning that the merit of discovering the new route to the N. W. belongs to the Messrs Benjamin & Jo's Frobisher who are the Directors of an extensive trade to that Country & had it explored in order to secure that trade to this Province in case it should be found that the Great carrying place falls within the American Limits.

Indorsed:— "In Lieut Govr Hamilton's of 12th August 1785. No 1."

MEMORIAL OF INDIAN TRADERS.

To Sir John Johnson Baronet Superintendant General of Indians in the province of Quebec &c., &c., &c.

The Memorial of the Merchants of Montreal concerned in the Indian Trade to Michilimackinac & its Dependencies—

Sheweth, That the Trade carried on under the protection and within the Dependencies of that post is of the utmost importance to this province, as it comprehends nearly three-fifths of the whole of the Upper Country Trade and is extended over a Tract of Country reaching from the Latitude of 39° S. on the Mississippi to the North and West of Hudson's Bay in the Latitude of 60° Degrees —

That the Indians who occupy this vast tract of Country are of fierce and Warlike dispositions and unfortunately for the Traders, they are at present engaged in a cruel war with one another, which not only prevents them from hunting but exposes the Traders to great danger of their lives or the loss of their property when met by the war parties, whether in the course of the voyage or when in their Winter Habitations.

That some attempts have been made to reconcile the jarring Nations, and at times the Traders when on the spot have so far succeeded as to keep them in Peace for a season: the good effects whereof were not less esteemed by the Indians than beneficial to the Traders as by that means the Indians remained unmolested on their respective wintering grounds which naturally produced a considerable degree of success & advantage to the Merchant, but lately the disputes of those Nations have arose to a height above the power of the Traders, assisted by the officer commanding at Michilimakinac to control or appease, in consequence whereof the Trade has suffered greatly and unless some remedy is applied in time there is reason to fear the loss of a considerable part of that valuable branch of Commerce, in particular the whole of that carried on upon the Mississippi from the Illinois to its source —

Your Memorialists pray such aid and relief in the premises as to you may seem meet, respectfully suggesting the expedient of proper persons being employed to bring about a peace which no doubt will require considerable presents, but at same time will be greatly facilitated by the name of Sir John Johnson; a name well known amongst the In-

dians, much respected by them and always considered as the Harbinger of Peace to these Nations.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

MONTREAL 4th April 1786.

Robert Ellice & Co	Todd & McGill
Charles Morrison	Benj. & Jos. Frobisher
David McCrae	Richard Dobie
Robert Cruickshanks	William Grant
Fran Winter	Sutherland & Grant
Mrs. Mandeau	John McGill
Chles. Chaboiley	Simon McTavish
Alexr. Henry	Andrew Todd
John Reeves	William Kay
John McKindlay	Joseph Howard
James Finlay	Grant & Griffin
F. Chaboiliez	Auldjo & Maitland
Gregory & Maitland	John Bapt. Durocher
	G. Cotti
	Pollard & Mason

MEMORANDA RELATIVE TO INDIAN TRADE.

No. 4. Memorandums for Sir John Johnson Baronet submitted to his consideration by the Committee of Merchants who had the honor of presenting to him a Memorial dated 4th April relative to the Indian Trade.

The Indian Nations who are at War with one another, to the great prejudice of the Trader are the Ottawas, the Chippeways, the Fallisavoines,[1] the Winipigoes or picants— The Osakies—the Outagamies or Foxes & the Scioux—

To bring about a peace amongst these Indians, considerable presents will be necessary, and in order to judge of the necessary quantums, it may be proper to mention the number of men in each Nation with their situation in the Country and the means that may be adopted to effect that purpose.—

The Ottawas consist of nearly —— Men and are situated

[1] Follesavoines (rice-eaters), or Menomonees.— ED.

along the south and east side of Lake Michigan, beginning at the distance of eight leagues from Michilimackinac, and extending nearly to the River St. Joseph, but being immediately under the eye of the Commandant of Michilimackinac from whom it is presumed they receive presents, no account will be made of them in speaking of those which will be thought necessary for the present purpose. It is proper however to observe, that they are a Nation much respected by all the others, therefore their friendship may be rendered serviceable in any transactions with the others.

The Chippeways 800 men.

A few of them are around Lake Huron & at Michilimackinac but by far the most numerous and warlike part (and to whom the present remark more particularly alludes) inhabit the south side of Lake Superior, from the Falls of St. Mary to the west end of that Great Lake with the Country adjacent and a very numerous tribe of them occupy the sources of the Mississippi with all the Country on the East side of that famous River, so low as the River of the Chipeways,[1] which falls into the Mississippi about the Latitude of 40° North. This tract cannot be surpassed or perhaps equalled by any in the Upper Country for the fine furrs it produces, but owing to the vicinity of the Scioux and the constant war between these rival Nations, the Traders, do not procure from it one forth part of the furrs, which it is capable of producing annually. The number of men fit to bear arms of this Nation from St. Mary's to the sources of the Mississippi and in the Country described cannot fall much under eight hundred.—

Manominis or Follisavoines 150 men.

The prosecuting the Voyage from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi by the direct and short road of La Bay the Manominis are the first nation you meet with they are in two fixed and considerable Villages, one at the River Manomini, the other at La Bay, and there are some straggling

[1] Chippewa River.—Ed.

huts along the River Renard,[1] the whole number of men fit to bear Arms, may be near one hundred and fifty and at present they are at war with the Chipeways, they are esteemed excellent Huntsmen and are not less known for their Intrepidity in War.—

Winipigoes or Picants 600 men.

This nation is the next to the Manominis, their first Village being only twelve leagues from La Bay, they are at present at War with the Chipeways, are Warlike and tolerable Hunters and from being on the road to the Mississippi are frequently troublesome to the Traders passing and repassing.

Osakies or Sacs 1,300 men.

A Nation which inhabited a few years ago the banks of River Wisconsing but owing to their apprehensions of the Chipiwas and being rather of a peaceable turn they left their Villages and went a considerable way down the Mississippi, where they continue to reside and mostly on the Spanish side, this Nation is at present at war with the Scioux of the plains and the Spaniards are using endeavours to attach them to their Interests, and even to bring them nearer to them, but the superiority of the Canadian Traders hath hitherto prevented it.—

Outagamies or Foxes 1,400 men.

This nation is nearly allied to the Sacs, speak almost the same language, inhabit the same country, are esteemed rather more troublesome hunt and trade as the Sacs and at present are at war with the Chipeways, who inhabit the Sources of the Wisconsing, and the other Rivers which fall into the east side of the Mississippi.

Scioux 3,000 men.

This Nation is numerous and extended over so great a tract of Country, that the Traders can neither give a just account of the one or description of the other, but they es-

[1] Fox River.—ED.

teem, that at various times they have seen not less than 3000 of different tribes. They occupy the plains on the west side of the Mississippi from the River Manaquanon to the Sources of almost the first of those Rivers and are esteemed War like and fierce but are not very good hunters owing to their Country being stocked with Buffaloe and the little intercourse they have with the Traders (of late however they are become more industrious, and the best Deerskins with a deal of Beaver and Otters are now obtained from them) in particular from those who inhabit the Country along the River St Pierre and the Upper Parts of the Mississippi about the Falls of St Anthony, that being a Country which rivals the eastern parts occupied by the Chipeways for the goodness and value of the furrs which it produces, the country too is very extensive that when peace can be brought about, between these two fierce and rival nations, the Manominis, the Picants, the Sakies, and the Foxes go up into that country and make most prodigious Hunts; but whilst they continue at war no Indians nor Trader can shew themselves in that Country with safety. Having taken notice of the number of men in those nations who are at war and the situation of those Indians: we proceed to state such presents as in our opinion may be requisite to bring peace amongst them, and the consequent benefits that will be derived from it.

With respect to the presents we must request Sir John Johnson's reference to the annexed state; and as to the benefit's which may arise from a peace being established, there can be no doubt that the Traders present risque will be much lessened by it, and an ample field for commerce assured; two objects which merit consideration, besides the prevention of a cruel war between these fierce Tribes.

To carry this Scheme into execution is thought that several persons must be employed to carry the parcels and distribute the presents — for the Chipeways Messrs Cadot & Rheum [Reaume] are proper persons — For the Ottawas, the Fallisavoines, the Picants, the Sakies and Foxes, Mr. Ainse — but as a Scioux Interpreter will be requisite Messrs Rocque & Rainville will be very serviceable, and as many

of the Sacks & Foxes may winter in the lower parts of the Mississippi, it may be necessary to employ Mr. Gautier to reside with them. It may be proper to send as early as possible strings of Wampum to the different nations, desiring them to remain quiet and informing them at the same time, that their father Sir John Johnson, being desirous to put an end to their disputes, is to send them early in the fall Belts and presents for that purpose, mentioning also such places of Rendezvous as may be thought most proper — for instance — for the Chipewas, La pointe, Fond du Lac[1] and Lac du Sable, some Ottawas, the Follisavoines and picants to accompany Mr. Ainse to prairie du Chien, there to meet the Sakies and Foxes and if possible some Sioux to be present, from thence to proceed to the River St Pierre and there hold a grand Council, deliver the paroles, the Belts and the presents. In order to save expence to the person in carrying the presents from Michilimakinac into the interior Country — each of the Traders Canoes ought to carry three or four pieces, but it will [be] necessary that one Canoe at least carry nothing but presents into the Mississippi and another into Lake Superior — The presents should be delivered in the presence of the Traders to the Indians and particular mention should be made, that all Traders being children of the same Father they have all equally right and priviledge to traffick with their Brothers the Indians, it might be proper to retain part of the presents until Spring, particularly Rum, silver-work, some Coats, hats, shirts, Flags and Medals.

MONTREAL 13th April 1786

Richd Dobie
Sutherland & Grant
Fran. Winter
Benj. & Jos. Frobisher
Simon McTavish
James McGill
William Grant
Chas. Chaboillez
David McCrae
Alexander Henry
G. Cotte

[1] Fond du Lac of Lake Superior. — ED.

SIR JOHN JOHNSON TO JOHN DEASE.[1]

MONTREAL 1st October 1786.

SIR,— From the great resort of Indians even from the most distant nations to the post of Michilimackinac from the extensive trade carried on from thence, and from its consequent importance: but particularly from the great expense that has hitherto attended the conducting the business of the Indian Department at that Post I have thought it necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service that you should repair to that station—and I do hereby require that you do without loss of time and in the most expeditious manner return to Niagara with the Indian Goods destined for the several posts, and from thence you are to proceed in the first vessel next Spring, the Season being now too far advanced, to Michilimackinac to take upon you the management of Indian affairs in that District, for your guidance in which Captain Byrne[2] the present Commissary of Indian affairs, whose appointment must cease on the 24th June 1787, will deliver over to you all such orders as he received and were found necessary for that purpose—

In consequence of an unfortunate War raging among some of the Western Nations, & at the request of the Merchants trading to that Country I have taken some steps to endeavor to reconcile them to each other by sending out a Messenger among them to desire that they would desist from all acts of hostility and assemble some of the Chiefs of each Nation next June at Michilimackinac, where I shall endeavour to meet them and to establish a lasting peace, to facilitate which I intend to take with me or order round by Detroit some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations — But should I from unforseen accident or business be prevented from putting my intentions into execution, you will take such steps as you will find necessary to accomplish this desirable business, in the interim you will continue to act in conjunc-

[1] Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.—ED.

[2] Captain Michael Byrne.— ED.

tion with Lt. Col. Butler [1] for the good of His Majesty's Indian interest.

All officers commanding at the different posts are hereby requested to afford you every assistance necessary and in their power to expediate your Journey and the business you are sent upon.

I have the honor to be

with great Regard and perfect esteem — Sir

Your obedt huble Servant

(Signed) JOHN JOHNSON.

John Dease Esqr. D. A. T. A.

AINSÉE'S EXPEDITION TO WISCONSIN AND MINNESOTA.[2]

SIR,— According to the orders which I received last year from Captain Byrne I left this Post with a Canoe loaded with thirteen bales of goods to go and make peace among the Indian Nations.[3]

After a fortnight's passage I arrived at La Baye in the Village of the Folles Avoines, I began to speak to the nation & inform them of the object of my visit. I made them a small present of Rum & Goods & continued my route by the Fox River. Having come to Wisconsin Portage I assembled all the Puants [4] to give them your speech,

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[1] John Butler, interpreter and partisan Indian leader, prominent in operations against Oswego, also with St. Leger's expedition, and employed in harassing the frontiers of Pennsylvania. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, general index.— ED.

[2] Unaddressed.— ED.

[3] Ainsée had many enemies among the Montreal traders centering at Michilimackinac, who thought his influence with the Wisconsin Indians injurious to their interests. See *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, xi., pp. 499–501, for charges against him; p. 491 for report of council at Michilimackinac with Indians accompanying Ainsée thither; pp. 514-609 for proceedings of a court of inquiry held on the island, June 24, 1788, into the conduct of Ainsée and Dease; and pp. 610-620 for the report thereon, by Attorney-General Alexander Gray and Solicitor-General J. Williams, sustaining the traders' charges against the two.— ED.

[4] Winnebagoes.— ED.

this was the first time that I had showed the large Belt of which you had made me the bearer & after making them a present of Goods, rum & tobacco, I continued my route on the River Wisconsin & after a passage of five days I came, in the Mississippi to a village of the Foxes where I had much trouble in stopping a party of warriors, who were preparing to go to war against the Sauteux.[1] I made them all assemble & managed to stop this party, myself delivering the belt & war tomahawk which they were to use. They promised that for the future they would listen to your words, & also in acknowledgement I made them a present, the same as I had done to the others. Two days afterwards I prepared to leave, ascended the Mississippi & after fourteen days march I arrived at the entrance of the River St. Peter, where I found a large number of Sioux of all the different Villages who also prepared to go to war against the Sauteaux. It was there that the few goods given me by Captain Byrne received a bad attack for I could not dispense with making a present to each of the five different Villages, that is where I made use of your name and I venture to flatter myself that I employed it in the best manner for I succeeded in everything. At that time a party of Sioux arrived coming from the Sauteux with sixteen fresh scalps & three prisoners. The arrival of this party caused a little interruption to the peace which I proposed, seeing that the larger part of the women tore the still bloody & ragged scalps from hands of the warriors, with an unequalled ferocity & wanted also to throw themselves upon the warrior prisoners, crying: "Ah dog; Is it thou who has killed my father," & another made the same exclamation saying "Is it thou who hast killed my brother." In short the three poor prisoners witnessed this sad spectacle which was the cause of so much bad feeling. But fortunately for those living in this neighborhood the plan of having good soldiers, who I can assure you are more respected than among the civilized nations, is in force. However they got possession of the prisoners,

[1] Chippewas.— Ed.

with trouble as they had to drag them from the hands of the women & preserved them from their rage. Although so sad a spectacle made a little confusion among us still I succeeded in quieting them by representing to them to what misery they would expose their Nation if they were obstinate & would not hear your speech. It was then one of the principal chiefs came & took me by the hand & wrapped a Beaver robe round me, saying "My Father rest until to-morrow & then we will tell you our way of thinking." The next day being all reassembled they sent to look for me by six of their soldiers, placed me on a beaver robe in the midst of their assembly, saying in very strong terms & informing me of their gratitude to their father Chevallier Johnson for wishing to bring about a peace amongst them & to unite their lands with those of their enemies.

They then made me a present of 50 stalks of wild oats & delivered to me the Sauteux prisoners which they had taken, saying, "As a proof that we listen to your words, here are the prisoners which we took into our hands take them to our father Sir John Johnson." I arranged all those affairs as well as I could desire & brought them to make peace with the Sauteux.

I then began to take courage & almost pursuaded of accomplishing your orders in full. So I continued my route, penetrating even as high as the River St. Peter through all the Sioux Villages, with your large belt without any interruption & when I came to the last village I met a party of three hundred Sioux who were coming to war with the Sauteux. I stopped this party there with a present, some chiefs coats, a medal & a flag, which I gave them from you. After great difficulty however I succeeded in stopping them & getting them to make peace. I proposed to them that they should go among the Sauteux with a pipe of peace, which I gave them from you, to smoke in and to conclude the peace. As the season was then well advanced & as the ice prevented me from advancing farther, I left my canoe with four of my men & set off to traverse the Country on foot with two Escabias & an Interpreter,

judging rightly that it was necessary to do the same among the Sauteux as I had just done among the Sioux. I left three days afterwards and, after having marched for seventeen days across the prairies, I arrived at the head of the St. Antoine Falls[1] in the upper part of the Mississippi in the Sauteux Country. I went into the Village of the Manonimi-Rechi. I told them all that I had done among the Sioux, with regard to them. It was then nearly forty days since a party of Sioux had killed sixteen persons in this village & made three prisoners as I have already mentioned. I remained all the rest of the winter going from Village to Village talking with the Sauteux & deciding them to make the peace which their father Sir John Johnson wished them to terminate. And after having spoken to all the Sioux, Sauteux, Follesavoines & Renards I appointed them to meet nearly ten leagues in the River St. Peter on the fourteenth of March, each of these nations kept their word & I Left myself for the place where I had said I would receive them. We passed eight days & eight nights continually in conference with one another & finally we arrived at the day of the great feast of peace, after which each went to his own village promising me that six men of the principal village chiefs & also war chiefs would come to Michilimakinac. I agreed with them that I would leave for the River St. Peter on the first of May & we gave our words to each other that whichever first came to the said place on the River St. Peter would wait for the others. All this was accomplished & the day agreed upon I left to go to the Prairie du Chien, where I arrived without any accident, but on our arrival there we were not so well received by the Foxes as I could have wished. On the eve of my arrival I sent a canoe to announce me in the Fox village & to prevent all accidents I warned, by a letter which I wrote to Mr. C. Paterson, Director of the society[2] as well as the other traders, to stop

[1] Falls of St. Anthony (Minneapolis).— Ed.

[2] The General Society (or Partnership) of Montreal Merchants trading to Michilimackinac.— Ed.

the rum during my stay at the Prairie du Chien. Immediately on my arrival I lost no time in assembling all the Foxes, Sacks, Follesavoines, Sioux & Sauteux & did all in my power to unite their hearts which were then very much at variance. Having got the word of the Foxes, willing in spite of themselves, through the frequent councils which I held with them during the four days I remained there, I concluded to leave the fifth day well foreseeing that if I stayed longer I would not have the power to prevent the danger which threatened me. The English Traders, who had never deigned to answer my letter nor to disturb themselves much about the trouble I endured among the different nations, enemies to one another, still sent the rum as usual, & all my labours were on the verge of being destroyed by the ambition of trade in so critical a time. The day I proposed to leave was the day that Mr. Paterson assembled the Sioux & held a Council with them, without my knowledge & I was greatly surprised on their return from Mr. Paterson's that the greater part wished to leave me & return home. I tried to find out what was said at this Council but I could discover nothing except through a clerk named La Batte. I asked him what Mr. Paterson could have said to the Indians that made the greater part want to returnhome. He then plainly said to me "M r. Ainse as I was present at the Council I can assure you that Mr. Paterson said nothing but good to the Indians, having said that he was master of Trade & that he was going to send to have two forts built among them, also saying to them it is true that your father Sir John Johnson is a great man but it is not in his power to send me among you if I did not wish it. Believe me, it is I, who am a Trader, that can take care of you & send you all you need." I did not hold a long discourse with him well seeing that it would not be good for me to stay here long. I had all the Canoes put into the water & left in pretty bad order to go & camp about three leagues farther down. The same evening I sent some messengers with twenty branches of porcelaine to bring back L'Aile Rouge (Red Wing) first war chief of the Sioux & many others who wished to accompany him

home. I succeeded in bringing them back & continued my route as far as Michilimakinac without any interruption—

I was not surprised at the Declaration of Monsr La Batte, about Mr. Charles Paterson's conduct, since he had already, in the upper part of the River St Peter, taken upon him to make a Chief & given him a coat & flag; that was why the great Chief of the Tinctons' Villages as well as the great Chiefs of the Cicitton[2] had not come to Michilimakinac, as they had promised after having received Sir John Johnson's speech.

Altogether I had six men of each different village, I had then with me one hundred and ninety six persons and as many more I had sent over by Lake Superior, having appointed them a rendevous for the second of July on my arrival at Michilimakinac. Therefore I hope Sir that anyone might know by my conduct and by all the precautions which I took that my only ambition was to work for the public good and to save the expenses of the Indian Department as much as lay in my power, although it is not possible on so long a voyage and conducting so large a number of Indians to avoid incurring some expense, God grant Sir that my conduct be as you wish and that you are satisfied with my work, as far as was in my power to make valuable among the nations the few talents I possessed the employment of which you had been good enough to charge me with. I have sacrificed every moment since my departure from you. I then came to Michilimakinac in the hope of seeing you there. I found in your place Captain Dease. I had nothing more pressing than to attend to his orders and give him an account of my voyage. He appeared very well satisfied with my conduct and willing to give effect to all the words that I had given on your part to all the nations. I may say that Captain Dease was the proper person to achieve this work, and I flatter myself that all has been arranged to his wishes; he has made peace with

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[1] Tincton Sioux.— Ed.

[2] Sisseton Sioux.— Ed.

all the nations which I brought here and I assure you that all the Indians have returned home as contented as anyone could wish. But unhappily for me this was on condition that I would return again among them for a year. They have even fixed my winter quarters in the upper part of the Mississippi among the Sioux and Sauteux. Although so long a voyage would be repugnant to me I feared, Sir, to displease you if I refused Captain Deases orders, in consequence I prepared two canoes to return and take the management of all your Indian children in the South. But in the hope Sir, that you would permit me to return next year to Canada, where I would be able to render account myself of my conduct. I will give you no detail of the bad treatment which I received in this place from the Traders. I will leave this to Mr. Dease who will give you an exact account. I can only assure you Sir that the high opinion which they had of me when they addressed themselves to Your Honor and asked you to send me to make peace among the nations was a plan on their part. They doubtless depended that I would do as the others had done before me who for small trips have led the department into extraordinary expenses.

Is it then possible to believe that, with thirteen small bales of goods that I had brought with me and which I had received from Captain Byrne, I could speak to all the different villages and that I should be mistaken in having made the treaty with the Indians. I hope Sir that your opinion will alone be my judge and that justice will plead my cause on this occasion. It is true that I bought a little tobacco and wheat to send to the Indians at Michilimakinac but this was indispensibly necessary. Now that I have given you an exact detail of my conduct it only rests with me to give you the numbers in the different villages I passed.

1st village of Arbre Croche.....	260 men
The villages of the Puants altogether.....	340 "
The village of the Foxes.....	300 "
The villages of the Saques.....	700 "

1st village of the Sioux	204 men
2nd " " "	230 "
3rd " " "	260 "
The Sioux of the Feuille Fire[1]	200 "
The large village of the Sioux called the Tinctons	800 "
	3,294

It is not possible to give you the number of the Sauteux seeing that they are never settled in their place, and that one can never see them all together but I can say for certain that they are more numerous than the Sioux.

(signed)

JOSEPH AINSE—

MICHILIMAKINAC 16th August 1787.

FRANCIS LE MAISTRE[2] TO JOHNSON.

QUEBEC 29th October 1787

SIR,—Your letter of the first instant, with papers concerning some late transactions in the Upper Country, Lord Dorchester has received; since which a Memorial from several Merchants trading to those parts has been presented to his Lordship, accompanied with a Copy of their letter to Captain Scott, which, with copies and extracts of other papers, they also produced, are herewith enclosed for your information, the like having been by his Lordship's commands transmitted to the Commanding officer at Michilimackinac, that the accusations alledged against Messrs Dease & Ainsse may be made in their presence, to enable them to refute the charges affirmed by the complainants—

I am &c

(signed) FRANS. LE MAISTRE M. S.

Sir John Johnson

(True Copy) (signed) FRANS. LE MAISTRE M. S.

Indorsed:— "Michilimakinac 16th August 1787 from Joseph Ainse. Mr. Ainse delivered this to the Com't 1st, May 1790. H. F."

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[1] Fire-Leaf Sioux.—ED.

[2] Secretary to Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada (1786–1796).—ED.

COST OF AINSÉE'S EXPEDITION.

MICHILIMACKINAC.

Government, to L. Joseph Ainsse Dr

For sundry expenses incurred in a voyage to the different Nations of Indians, undertaken by order of Sir John Johnson Bart.

1786 Augt. 16th at this post before my departure	2 Large Canoes @	400	Livrs is..	800
	2 sails for Do	40	" ..	80
	20 lbs Gum	1	" ..	20
	50 lbs Grease	3	" ..	150
	50 lbs Sugar	1–10	" ..	75
	8 bushels Corn	20	" ..	160
				1285
6 Sepr at La Baye	1 Canoe for Mr. Roy.....			300
	15 lbs Gum			15
	1 Roll bark.....			30
				345
1787 March 14th to the entry of the River St Pierre—	50 bags wild rice & Corn 20....1000			
26th March to the entry of the River St Croix	31 Bags Do & Do.....			640
				1640
11th May Praire du Chien	32 Bags corn from Onnore...			640
	256 lbs Grease from M. Cardinal @ 3.....			768
				1408

Paid Mr. Giason the following vizt.

1 Canoe for the Renards	200
10 lbs Gum	10
1 Sail	30
1 Kettle	24
	264

Carried over Livres 4942

Amount brot forward			Liv.	4942
26th May—Portage	44 Bags wild Rice a 20		880	
Wisconsin	44 Bags Do & Do		800	
June 4th at	100 lbs Flour		150	
La Baye	50 lbs Grease @ 3		150	
	20 lbs Gum	1	30	
				1130
Paid Louis Cardin his wages			600	
Baptiste Chevalier	Do		600	
Gigaire	Do		600	
Plamondon	Do		500	
Berthiammi	Do		500	
				2800
			Livres	9752
Equal to New York Currency				£650,2.8.

Sundries furnished the different Nations of Indians by order of Captain Dease ..... vizt

July 15th	4500 Wampum @ 30 Liv		135	
Sauteaux	3 Canoes	200	600	
	200 lbs Grease	3	600	
	3 sails	24	72	
	60 lbs Gum	1	60	
				1467
Scioux	4 Canoes	115	460	
	4 sails	24	96	
	400 lbs Grease	3	1200	
	120 lbs Gum	1	120	
	4 Rolls Bark	30	120	
				1996
Paid Mr Cadot his Expenses in the Chippeway Country			772	
			Liv.	4235
Equal to New York Currency				£282,6.8.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing sum of Four Thousand Two hundred Thirty five livres, or Two hundred and Eighty two pounds Six shillings & eight New York Currency was furnished and paid by M. Louis Joseph Ainsse, agreeable to my orders, and that the sum of six hundred and fifty Pounds two shilling & 8d New York Curry. expenses incurred by him in the Indian Country appears to me to be necessary and Proper.

(signed) JOHN DEASE. D. S.

I do certify that the several charges in the foregoing account incurred between the 16th August 1786 and July 1787, amounting to nine thousand seven hundred and fifty two livres are Just, and were indispensibly necessary for His Majesty's Indian Interest at Michilimakinac—

(signed) MICHAEL BYRNE
Com'y & Clerk I. D.

Mr Ainse Dr To the General Partnership

1786.	Delivered you on your departure for the Indian country:			
August	2 Cotton Shirts.....18–8 £	1	7	4
	1 Calico do.....20	1	..	..
	135 lbs Gum at different times 2	13	10	..
	Sundry Taylors work.....	3	9	4
	The following articles furnished him in Ind. Country:			
Sepr. 7th	By Marchesseau, at the Dog Plains, 2 Kegs Gunpowder weighing 133 lbs.....@10–8	70	18	8
Novr. 10th	By Charles Paterson at the River St. Peters 1 fine scarlet Chief's Coat	6	13	4
	6 fathom twist Tobacco..... 8	2	8	..
Decr. 15th	By Joseph Rocque Ditto			
	6 lbs Vermillion 20	6	..	..
	1 pr Blankets 3 pts. 64	3	4	..
	2 pr Do 2 Do.....32	3	4	..
	1 pr Do 1½ Do..... 26–8	1	6	8
1787.				
Jany. 29th	By Jacques Frenier Ditto			
	3 Blankets of Strouds..... 53–4	5	6	8
	1 pr do ½ pts.....48	2	8	..
	1 pr Leggins.....13–4	...	13	4
	1 Breech clout.....10–8	...	10	8
	5 lbs twist Tobacco..... 26–8	6	13	4
	4 Slaves.....£33 6–8	133	6	8

Feby. 10th	By Hyppolite La River Ditto				
	25 lbs Gunpowder	.16	20	..	..
	3 lbs Ball	.8	2	..	..
	1½ pr Blankets 2½ points	.48	3	12	..
	By Charles Paterson				
	5 lbs Carrot Tobacco	10-8	2	13	4
	By Marchesseau of the Dog Plains				
May 7th 11th	41 } 46 } 87 lbs of Tobacco	10-8	46	8	..
June 7th	By Pierre Grignon at La Baye				
	21 Bushels Indian Corn	26-8	28	..	..
	7 Bushels Wild Oats	33-4	11	13	4
	60 lbs Flour	2	6	..	..
	New York Currency		£328	16	8

MICHILIMACKINAC 20th August 1787

I certify to have received the above mentioned articles amounting to the sum of 328 Pounds 16 Shillings & Eight pence New York Currency, the whole for the Indian Department, as far as to the River St. Peter from the Port of Michilimackinac.

(signed) AINSSE

Received from Mr Ainsse his Draft payable in October next on Sir John Johnson Bart for the above sum, which when paid will be in full.

Michilimakinac
20th August 1787 for the General Partnership
(signed) A. HOLT

N. B. The four Slaves charged in the foregoing account, were purchased by order of the Superintendent General & Inspector General of Indian Affairs in order to fulfill a promise made by Governor St. Clair to the Indians, and confirmed by Capt Robertson, to replace some of their People killed in action during the late war.

By order of the Superintendant &
Inspector General
P. LANGAN
Actg. Secry. to Indian Affairs.

INDIAN DEPARTMENT OFFICE
MONTREAL 27th NOVEMBER 1787

I do hereby certify that the above account amounting to Three hundred and eighty two pounds sixteen shillings and 8d New York Currency is Just and indispensibly necessary for His Majesty's Indian Interest at Michilimakinac.

(signed) DANIEL ROBERTSON
Commandant

MONTREAL 24th Decr 1787

Received of Sir John Johnson Bart. Superintendt General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, Three hundred and Twenty eight Pounds sixteen shillings and Eight pence New York Currency for Incidental Expences in the Indian Dept as stated above, and for which we have signed two receipts of this Tenor and date.

(signed) TODD & MCGILL.

A True Copy from the Original
(signed) P. Langan
late Secry. to Indn Affairs.

CAPTAIN CHARLTON TO LIEUT. COL. ENGLAND.[1]

MICHILIMAKINAC 1 July 1792

SIR,—I do myself the honor to acquaint you with a very disagreeable event that has taken place here, a chippaway savage from Lake Superior having attempted to stab a trader & 2 others, a Mr Myers Michel closed upon the Indian was wounded endeavouring to take his knife from him on which the Savage was overpowered & secured from doing any injury by tying his hands behind his back. A great many people having now Collected, were Conducting him towards the commanding officers—in this situation the poor unfortunate Indian was attacked in a most cruel & unmerciful manner by Myers Michel, John Campbell, John Stork George Edward Young, Barthelemi Blondeau,

[1] Richard England, lieutenant colonel of the 24th (2d Warwickshire) regiment of foot.—ED.

Etiene Campion, and an engagé, called Lambert — who Beat, Kicked, stabed, & Tomahawked him untill they perceived me accompanied by Capt. Doyle running from my Quarters to prevent as far as in our power so savage a Brutality being committed, and to afford protection to the poor Indian. the above 7 men were in a few minutes sent to the Fort, a Coroners Inquest was held on the Body but their Verdict, not particularising any one, 2 Justices of the Peace were obliged by me to take depositions against them — in the evening the 2 Magistrates requested by letter I would keep them in the Fort till next day at 12 o'clock, but the same evening they wrote me desiring I would order the 7 Prisoners charged with the death of Wawenesse to be given up to some Merchants of the Village. They have accepted bail for their appearance. The Indians who happened to be at the Post were assembled in Council & the most favourable explanation of the Transaction given them they appeared well satisfied with the steps they saw had been taken and behaved in every respect perfectly quiet.

I have the honor to be Sir
Your Most obed't Humble Servant
EDW. CHARLTON
Capt 5th Reg't Com'g

Lt. Col: England Comm'g the District Detroit

CAPTAIN DOYLE TO ENGLAND.

MICHILIMAKINAC, 2d Feby 1793

SIR,— I am sorry to be under the necessity of making a charge against Mr. Charles Gautier, Interpreter and Store Keeper to the Indian Department, with having embezzled the King's stores entrusted to his care, to an enormous Amount.

The proceedings of a Board of Survey with their opinion, I have the honor to transmit for your Inspection, as well as His Excellency's Colonel Simcoe.[1]

[1] Colonel John Graves Simcoe, first governor of Upper Canada (1791–1794).— ED.

I have sent the proceedings to Mr. Chew, Secretary of the Indian Department, giving him the reason of my refusal to pass Mr. Gautier's half yearly account, ending the 24th Dec. Mr. Gautier acknowledged to me, that he had converted many of the Articles which are deficient to his private use, Mr. Gautier has also given me an inventory of Goods, which I transmit, furnished by him, out of the King's store, to a Mr. Langlade, now trading in the Indian Country, and Partner in the House of Gruet & Laframboise of this Post.

He expects returns to be made him by Langlade in spring which if I can lay hold of, shall be lodged in the King's store. Mr. Gautier has declared, that the Partners of Mr. Langlade, were ignorant of the transaction. I have some reason to think otherwise, but want proof, I expect to make more discoveries, at present the alarm is too great, I am obliged to continue this man in his employment, from the impossibility of procuring a proper person to succeed him, however, I have taken an effectual method of his not having access to the store, by fixing a second lock upon the door, the key of which, I keep, and never allow him to visit it, but in presence of a commissioned officer, which is a disagreeable task to impose upon Gentlemen, but seeing the necessity, they submitted with the Greatest cheerfulness.

I have nothing further to add, but hope a proper person will be speedily sent, to supercede Mr. Gautier, as much confusion may arise from my present situation, could Mr. Chabouilloz be appointed Interpretor and Store Keeper, it would be a relief and happiness to me, as well as every succeeding Commanding officer at this Post

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your most obedient and
Very Humble Servant
WILLIAM DOYLE
Capt. 24th Regiment.

Lt. Col: England Commanding at Detroit and Dependencies.

MAJOR LITTLEHALES[1] TO LE MAISTRE.

NAVY HALL March 31st 1793.

SIR,—In conformity to His Excellency Lt Governor Simcoe's directions, I transmit to you for the Commander in Chiefs inspection, copies of two letters from Lt. Col. England to me dated Detroit March 17, 1793, one relative to Mr. Charles Gautiere (Indian Interpreter) at Michilimackinac with four enclosures enveloped, and marked No 1, 2, 3 & 4.

* * * * * * * *

His Excellency Lieut. Colonel Simcoe desires me to observe that Lt. Col. England reported personally to him at Detroit the circumstances concerning Mr. C. Gautiere Indian Interpreter at Mackinac. His Excellency therefore supposing that His Majesty's service would essentially suffer by so palpable a Defaulter's remaining in office &c, Colonel McKee being required to supply his place, particularly recommended Captain La Mothe as the most proper person to succeed him; His Excellency then desired Lt. Col. England to send Mr. La Mothe there to supersede, & order down to Montreal Mr. C. Gautiere to answer for his conduct.

* * * * * * * *

I am with regard Sir
Your most obed humble servt
E B LITTLEHALES

Francis Le Maistre Esq Mil. Sect'y &c

DOYLE TO SUPERINTENDENT CHEW.[2]

MICHILIMACKINAC 17 September 1793

DR SIR,—I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 13th August with the inclosures, No 1, 2, 3 by Mr. Gautier, who arrived at this post upon the 14th Inst. judging from the spirit of your letter, and that of Mr. Secretary Coffins to you written the 29th of July, I do not think it proper to send Mr. Gautier to Niagara at the Public Expense until I

[1] Edw. Baker Littlehales, major of the Upper Canada brigade.—ED.

[2] Joseph Chew, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.—ED.

am honor'd with His Excellency Colonel Simcoe's Commands on that head.

The Situation of this unhappy man, who unfortunately has a family is truly deplorable & however justly merited his sufferings are, one Cannot avoid feeling for that of his family.

Captain Lamothe has transmitted to you a requisition of Indian presents for the ensuing year approved and signed by me, I beg leave to submit to you the necessity of their being forwarded in the most expeditious manner, having reason to believe that Indians beyond the Mississippi, propose visiting this Post early next spring for the purpose of concluding a peace with the Ottawas & Chippawa's, which will be a desirable object to attain, I must also mention there is not in Store more than fifty pounds of Tobacco, which will be Constantly diminishing when the Ottawas receive their usual presents, a small Bale of that necessary Article might be sent by a Merchts. Canoe at a trifling expense.

I have no reason to be dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Indians since I have had the honor to Command. Any difficulties which have arisen between them and the Traders, I have observed the latter were generally the aggressors; I beg you'll accept my best thanks, for your obliging Communications from time to time and am with great regard.

Your most obedient and
very humble servant
WILLIAM DOYLE Capt 24 Regt

Joseph Chew Esq S. I. A. &: &· &· Montreal

GENERAL WILKINSON[1] TO ENGLAND.

HEAD QUARTERS GREENVILLE May 27th 1796

SIR,—Permit me to offer you my hearty congratulations, on the final ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce,

[1] James Wilkinson, American general-in-chief (1796–1798).—ED.

and navigation Concluded between our respective Countries, officially announced to me, by the minister of war, and promulged in the Gazettes which I do myself the pleasure to enclose you.

As the delivery of the Posts, held by Your Royal Master's Troops, within the limits of the United States, makes one condition of the compact, it is my wish to concert with you, the Measures, which may be deemed expedient to the faithful execution of this stipulation and to prevent any unnecessary Interval, between the period of Your Evacuation, and of my occupancy.

I stand in perfect readiness for the operation, an[d] entertaining no doubt, that the Treaty will be fairly, fully and punctiliously executed, on the part of his Majisty it becomes my Duty, to request information from you of the Day, on which it may be convenient to you, to withdraw the Troops under your Command from the Territory of the United States.

My aide de camp, Captain Shaumburg, will have the honor to deliver this letter to you, and he will receive and forward your answer to me, by Express, to meet the advanced Corps of the Army, in the Vicinity of Roche de Bout.

With much personal respect and esteem
I have the honor to be Sir
Your most obedient servant
(sgd) Ja Wilkinson

Col: England of the 24th British Infantry or commanding officer at Detroit

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MR. DUGGAN TO CHEW.

Michilimackinac 5 July 1796

Sir,— Since my last, nothing of Consequence Concerning Indian Affairs has occurred in this quarter, Every thing bears the appearance of Peace, notwithstanding the great preparations said to be making this Spring by the Indians residing in and about Milewaukee to go to war against the *Nee'dauwessies* [Sioux]. I have every reason to think, that

from the steps taken to prevent them, nothing more than what is Customary every spring will happen, that is a few warriors on each side going to strike against the Nations they are at variance with, which does not injure the Indian Trade, because when either Party takes a scalp or Prisoner they are satisfied and give over hostilities till the ensuing year.

* * * * * * * *

I am Sir Your's Most Sincerely

THOMAS DUGGAN

Joseph Chew Esqr. S. I. A Montreal

OUTFIT COMMONLY GIVEN TO INDIANS.[1]

To a Chief from the upper Country
1 pair of Arm bands
1 Medal with 2½ Yds Ribbon, if he has none.
1 Gorget " ditto ditto
1 Chiefs Gun or Rifle, if they are in want of it, or ask it.
3½ Yds fine cloth for a Blanket, legings & lap
2½ Yds Linen for a shirt
1 Knife
4 Flints
1 Gun Worm
1 pair shoes
1 Blanket of 3 points
1 Laced Hat
2 ℔s Gunpowder
8 ℔s ball & Shot
1 Tomahawk
18 Yds Ribbon
½ ℔ Vermillion
12 pair Ear bobs
300 Brooches
1 Brass or Tin Kettle

The foregoing is the Equipment given to a Mohawk Chief, but no Compleat Equipments have of late been given

[1] This memorandum is unaddressed, and undated.— ED.

to the Lower Canada Indians, they sometimes get a few Yds cloth a Gun, Powder & Shot, or other small Articles that they represent themselves to be in want of.

To a Chiefs Lady

5 Yards fine Cloth for a Blanket, Petticoat and legings
36 Yds Ribbon
200 Broaches
1 Blanket 2½ Points
2½ Yds Linen or Callico
1 Plain Hat
2 Silk Handkfs

if they have Any children they generally get a Blanket for each of them of different sizes According to their Ages with Some Linen or Embossed Sirge to make them shirts

To a Common Indian

1 Common Gun
1 ℔ Powder
4 ℔s Shot
1 Butcher Knife
4 Gun flints
1 pair shoes
1 Common Hat
1 Blanket 3 points
½ Yd Strouds for a Lap
1 Yd Molton for legings
2½ Yds Linen
1 Brass Kettle

To His Wife

1½ Strouds for a blanket & Petticoat
1 Yd Molton for legings
2½ Yds Linen or Callico
1 plain Hat
1 Blanket 2½ points

if they have Any Children they generally get a Blanket for each with some Linen or Embossed Serge for shirts.

Lower Canada Indians receive in the fall of the Year

A Man or boy above 16 Years of Age

1 Blanket 2½ points.
Strouds ½ Yard

Flints 4
Knife 1
Powder 1 lb
Shot & Ball 4 lbs
Molton for legings 1 Yard
Gun Worm 1
A Woman or Girl above 16
1 Blanket 2½ points
Strouds for Petticoat 2 Yds
Leggings *Molton* 1 Yd
Boys and Girls between 12 and 16
1 Blanket 2 points
Boys and Girls between 8 and 12
1 Blanket 1½ points
Children
1 Blanket 1 point

CAPT. DRUMMOND TO SECRETARY GREEN.[1]

ISLAND OF ST. JOSEPH Septr. 26th, 1798

SIR,—I have the honour to send to you herewith a report of a board of Survey held on the Indian Stores on their arrival, also of what remained on hand of the old Stores. We have had a great number of Indians here this Summer, Several of them from Lake Superior, & back of Missisaque never used to resort[to] Mackinack. We had several Canoes of the Minomines here, at the same time with a Number of Chippawas who was very Jealous of one another, but by persuasion and advice we got them to Smoke, Dance, Drink with oneother and parted seemingly good friends, however Soon after Departure the Chippawas sent the war pipe to the Minominies, and it is very probable they will be at War.

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I have the honor to be Sir,
Your most obdt humble Servant
PETER DRUMMOND Captain.
2d Batt R. C. V. Commanding.

Major Green Mil. Secty.

[1] James Green, major of the 26th (or Cameronian) regiment of foot.— ED.

CAPT. M'LEAN TO GREEN.

AMHERSTBURG 12th July 1799

SIR,—The Sloop Francis arrived here yesterday from Fort Erie laden with provisions and Stores for this Post and the Island of St. Joseph, she is unloaded and immediately to return to Fort Erie.

I received a few days ago a letter from Mr President Russell by which it appears that as usual, he has lately received a false alarm from this quarter in consequence of a Letter written by me to Capt. McKee proposing indeed by his own desire a mode by which the necissities of the Indians might be sufficiently attended to without any unnecessary profusion, and this was rendered absolutely necessary by the Conduct of the Indians every day in disposing in large quantities of rum, of the corn and other articles of provisions received unnecessarly, which neither Capt. McKee nor Mr Selby from their residence at Sandwich cou'd have observed, but of which I acquainted the former previous to writing him the Letter in question, which his absence made it necessary should be communicated to him in that way, and which I thought the most eligible mode to prevent any future misrepresentation. I received no written answer in return, but soon after saw Captain McKee when he coincided in opinion with me, but added that he must report to Mr President Russell and to Capt Claus, from which I am confident the letter to Capt Claus under his signature neither contained his sentiments or originated with himself, but is merely the production of Mr. Ass't Sec'y Selby, to whom it is no new thing to create trouble, If Capt. McKee was not too much under his influence and guided by his Council, I am certain the Indians wou'd be better managed without any unnecessary expense, I enclose for the Commander in chiefs information Copy of the Presidents letter to me with my answer, which may serve to throw some light upon this business, likewise a Copy of Capt. McKees letter to Capt. Claus and of my letter which produced it, I am sorry that the false reports so frequently propagated in this way are attended with so much trouble,

and it occupies no small part of my time (that might be employed to better purposes) in confuting and contradicting them.

That there has been any complaint from the Indians is a great falsehood. Two days ago we had a council consisting of about 200 of the neighbouring Indians and 50 others (Saachs & Foxes tribes) from the Mississippi side and not the smallest expression of murrer or discontent among the whole, to which all the officers of the Garrison who were present can bear testimony. The chief cause of the Council was to deliver up to their friends three female prisoner children taken by the Potawatamies from a Nation called the Piankishaws, & sent by the former to be delivered up. These prisoners were brought here by the Saachs and Reynards or Foxes, who received them on their way to this place from the Potawatamies, and they signified a wish that the neighbouring Indians should be present at the ceremony of restoring these poor Children to their friends in which they were indulged, when peace and unanimity was strongly recommended to the whole of them and which indeed the different Tribes recommended to each other and promised to observe themselves, and to pay no attention to the tales of ill disposed Birds that might be inclined to disturb their repose.

The 50 Saachs and Reynards from the Mississippi Came in with an Indian sent out in the spring by order I believe of Mr. Russell to procure intelligence, and have contributed in no small degree to the expense of this Post, they are an able body of men and not so Corrupted in their morals as the Indians of this vicinity, and more in a state of Nature. But I do not understand the policy of encouraging them from so great a distance. There were twenty of the Same tribes here last year, but it appeared or at least was pretended that they came here by mistake, having produced an American Flag and a letter which had been sent them by Genl. Wilkinson but which they said (or at least others for them) they understood had been sent by our Gov't and was the Cause of their visit to know the purport

of it. They were well received and requisitions made for provisions and presents with which they went off loaded. Forseeing it might be the means of their returning again this year in greater numbers I did not altogether approve of that excess of Liberality towards them, which I have no doubt is the real cause of their present visit as two of these last year, remained here all winter with Capt McKee, went out in the spring in Comp'y with the Indians sent to the Mississippi for intelligence and returned with their friends now. These Saachs and Foxes are said to have been originally the same people with the Shawanese as they speak nearly the Same Language and are supposed to have gone from this Country about eighty years ago.

The Cause now assigned for their visit is that they were told their Fidelity to the British Government had been doubted, or rather suspected, and that they Came merely to convince us of their unshaken attachment to us, and that report had done them injustice. For my own part I don't see the necessity of giving ourselves much Concern about Indians at so great a distance, and their fidelity if at all of any Consequence, I never understood to have been suspected, but even if it were, I cannot see the necessity of telling them so, to have put them to the trouble of Coming so far to justify themselves, and putting us to the expense of giving them so much Provisions and presents during about a month they have been about here. Major ..... [MS. illegible] you sent by the three Commissioners for executing the office of Dep'y Superint'd Gen'l was Authorized to bring them here or to acquaint them that their fidelity was suspected, I think it was improper and I know nothing at all about the matter. We are told one day that a number of Indians are Coming in a hostile manner from that Quarter, and the next we are told of a numerous band coming as friends. How are we to discriminate? at least until they are amongst us.

Tho' I have not the smallest cause to suspect these people yet I think the Safest way is to watch with Jealous Eye all Indians from so great a distance bordering on an Enemies frontier.

I told Capt: McKee that my wish was to receive all well, & that they be sent off satisfied, but that whatever might be given them should be such, as not to make it an object for them to return for it another year, and that they ought to be told that when they had any business to transact with us or any thing particular to Communicate they should send a few of their Chiefs instead of coming in large bodies, there has been a very moderate requisition made for them this day, & they are to depart tomorrow. We have purchased a pair of good young [horses] for Government at £30. Halifax each, this will tend to reduce the Contract for teams or at least the price; the Maple Sugar has been all sold but Mr. Reynolds not having as yet Collected the whole of the Money is the Cause of the Bill of sale not being transmitted

I have the honor to be Sir
Your Mo: obedt humble Servant
HECTOR MC LEAN Capt. R. C. V.

Major Green Mil. Secy

CAPTAIN BULLOCK[1] TO GENERAL PROCTOR.[2]

MICHILIMACKINAC 25th September 1813

No 1 "I found here the nation of Sioux Indians and some of the Menomines waiting for the arrival of the Indian goods to receive their presents.— In the conversation I had with Mr. Dickson[3] previous to my leaving Sandwich and the instructions I received from you respecting the presents to the Indians, I am led to suppose that Mr. Dickson thought the supplies would arrive from Montreal by the time I got to Michilimackinac, these supplies are not yet arrived and I found the Indian store empty,

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[1] Richard Bullock, captain of the 41st foot, and commandant at Michilimackinac. See "Dickson and Grignon Papers," in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 217 *et seq.*, bearing upon this point.— ED.

[2] Henry A. Proctor, brigadier general in the British army.— ED.

[3] Colonel Robert Dickson, British Indian agent for the Western District. See Mr. Cruikshank's paper on Dickson, *post.*— ED.

The season being far advanced the Sioux became very clamorous, and they having a great distance to go to their homes (some of them 1200 leagues) had fixed a day for their departure and would have gone away being much dissatisfied. I in consequence thought it advisable for the benefit of His Majesty's service and to retain their friendship to borrow from the Merchants a sufficiency of goods for them, which I did with difficulty on condition of their being returned as soon as the Indian goods arrive from Montreal, and the Sioux and Menominies went from hence very much pleased on the 19th What I have done notwithstanding it is Militating against the rules laid down for the Guidance of the Indian Department, will I trust meet with your approbation.

In the instructions I received from you, Arms & Gunpowder were mentioned to be sent to the Mississippi, the former of which I could not comply with, there being none in store, the latter "Gunpowder" I have sent in charge of Lieut Grinier[1] of the Indian Department, and the Arms shall be forwarded without loss of time when they arrive from Montreal."

No 2 "I have made every inquiry respecting the Enemy in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi and do not learn that any of them are advancing in this direction. should they attempt it, I shall have immediate intelligence from the Interpreters at the Bay [Green Bay] and will lose no time in giving you the earliest information thereof.--"

No 3 "I herewith send you an estimate of what provisions it is supposed will be wanted for this Post to the 24th April next, and I also send to the Brigade Majer a monthly return of the garrison for your information.— The commissary informs me that he has not provisions in store for a longer period than the end of next month, I therefore most earnestly entreat you, Sir, to consider our wants before the navigation closes."

No 4 "There are in this garrison two American Prisoners given up by the Indians the 10th and 12th of August

[1] Louis Grignon, of Green Bay, a lieutenant in the Indian Department, under Dickson.— ED.

last to Mr. Askin[1] the Indian store keeper. One of them was taken at the River Raisin, the other at the 4 mile creek, near Fort George, there is also here a Boy, (Peter Bell) 5 or 6 years of age, whose Father and mother were killed at Chicagoe this boy was purchased from the Indians by a trader and brought here, last July by directions of Mr. Dickson — I could wish to know your pleasure respecting them."

No 5 "The company of Michigan Fencibles raised here by Mr. Bailey are in a deplorable state for want of clothing, they are in general a good body of men and when *drilled* may be of service to the country, they are chiefly Canadians inlisted from the service of the Traders and seem to be very well disposed.— With respect to Mr. Bailey I hope some instructions will be sent me concerning him, it being incompatible for him to hold both situations."

No 6 "Public money at this Post there is none, the dearth of which is injurious to the service, and unless Mr. Commissary Gilmore sends a supply (through which channel I am informed the Commissary here receives it) before the close of the navigation, we shall be badly off indeed."

(Signed) RICHARD BULLOCK
Capt. 41st Regt.

Major Genl. Proctor &c &c &c

True copy
John Scott
Capt & M. B

BULLOCK TO SECRETARY FREER.[2]

MICHILIMACKINAC 23d Octr

DEAR SIR,— The Newspapers and Army List you were so kind to send by Mr. Dickson was a welcome treat to us here as we seldom hear anything of passing events, & if you would have the goodness, when an opportunity offers to send a few more with anything new at the time

You will much oblige
Dear Sir
Your very obedt servant
RICHD BULLOCK,
Cap. 41st Regt

Lieut. N. Freer, Mil: Secty. Montreal.

[1] Captain John Askin, store-keeper at Michilimackinac.— ED.

[2] Noah Freer, lieutenant in the Canadian Fencible Infantry.— ED.

COLONEL DICKSON TO FREER.

MICHILIMACKINAC Oct. 23d 1813

SIR,—Leaving York on the 2d Inst: after having made the necessary arrangements for the transport of Provisions, I was unfortunate enough to be detained twenty days on my route to this place by tempestuous weather.

On my arrival here, I found that Capt. McKay[1] had every thing ready for my proceeding to the Interior, it is very fortunate as any detention at this late season would be very injurious.

The assortment of Indian Goods sent up is an excellent one, and I think it fully adequate to support the Indians for this Winter.—You will please inform His Excellency, that I expect to receive orders during the Winter what steps I am to take next Spring, it is probable that I shall be on the Mississipi during the Winter.

Should the Enemy make no attempt on this Post before the navigation Closes, I am fully of opinion, that with proper support we will be able to baffle any attempt of the Enemy for the next season. Capt McKay and Mr. Crawford[2] are fully acquainted with the state of this part of the Country, and will be both of the greatest service in bringing forward whatever may be necessary for the supply and defence of this Island. Capt Bullock is doing every thing in his power to make it as secure as possible.

I should have been happy to have sent His Excellency a Journal of my Voyage last spring as he requested, but the advanced period of the season precluded me from having that satisfaction at present.

I send you a map of Lake Simcoe on a large scale. I think that if a road is to be Cut the best route is from Kempenfelt Bay to that of Penet Augusheen.—

I trust that my accounts contracted for the Government,

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[1] Major William McKay. See account of his capture of Prairie du Chien in 1814, by Douglas Brymner, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 254 *et seq.*— ED.

[2] Louis Crawford, of Michilimackinac. *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 304.— ED.

will meet with the approbation of His Excellency, as they were indispensably necessary

I have the honor to be with Sentiments of Respect Sir
Your Most Obedt & humble Servt
ROBRT DICKSON

Noah Freer Esq.

BULLOCK TO CAPTAIN LORING.[1]

FORT MICHILIMACKINAC 26th Feb 1814

SIR,— I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 12th ulto: (Received on the evening of the 23d Inst :) acquainting me by directions of Lieutenant General Drummond[2] that a quantity of Provisions had been sent to Notawasaque Bay and a further quantity was about to be sent to Penetanguishene Bay destined for this Post, which Provisions we are much in want of.

In reply to the information required by the General, I am sorry to say that our Resources here are very few, and in that, of the article of provisions almost consumed; at the time I received the account of the Retreat of the Right Division from Amherstburg, the Government provision was nearly exhausted, there being but sixty eight pounds of salt meat in store, and Flour only sufficient to serve the small garrison for one month. — Amherstburg being the Depot from whence this Post had been always supplied, and the late season of the year rendering any supply from York very precarious — I immediately turned my mind to find out what resources there were on the Island, and in its vicinity, and I directed Mr. Bailey of the Commissariat Department to proceed without loss of time to the small settlements in the Neighbourhood for that purpose, and to purchase every species of Provisions he could procure, both on the Island and in places adjacent, which he did at

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[1] Robert Roberts Loring, captain in the 104th foot.— ED.

[2] Sir George Gordon Drummond, second in command to Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada (1811–1814).— ED.

most exhorbitant prices, and on which we have been existing since October.— the proportion of Animal Food purchased, was so small, that I found it necessary on the 1st November, to reduce the ration of Beef to half a pound per day, and since, on the 25th Decmr, to limit the issue of meat to four days in the week, at the above rate — so that the troops &c might have a small proportion of that food as long as possible,— and which they will have until about the middle of the ensuing month.— We must then have recourse to Indian Corn and Fish — of the latter we have been fortunately successful in obtaining a good supply, and on which we must exist until Provisions can be sent us: — The number of Boats &c I can send to Notawasaque and Penetanguishan Bay in the ensuing spring to assist in bringing the supply's &c will be — 2 Batteaux, 2 large Birch Canoes, and a *Keel* Boat,— There is no clothing of any description in store, and I send herewith Returns of what is wanted — also a state of the garrison and a nominal List of officers — The men have been paid to the 24th January, except those on command at the Island of St Josephs and Green Bay. — The number of Indians immediately about us are but few and not exceeding Forty.— this being their Hunting season, they are employed in that avocation far back in the woods; — I expect numbers here early in the spring — they appear to be well disposed towards us — nor have I heard of any that have attached themselves to the American Govert,— except a few of the Saguinas, Residing at Saguina Bay on the south side of the Huron — about 150 miles from hence.— I have not been able to obtain any information respecting the Enemy's *vessels*, none of them appeared on Lake Huron last fall, nor have I been able to collect any intelligence from Detroit, notwithstanding I have offered a considerable sum for that purpose:— I shall pay close attention to the works, Picketting &c of the Fort, and my exertions will not be wanted in keeping this Post in the best state of Defence; — Please to inform General Drummond, that Robert Dickson Esqr, Agent & Superintendent to the Western Indians, writes me from Green Bay (on the West side of Lake

Michigan) that he intends being here as early as possible in the spring with about six hundred warriors, and one hundred white people of every description — the consumption of provisions will of course be very great, and should the people arrive previous to the intended supply I dread the consequence.

I have the honor to be
&c &c &c
(sgnd) RICHD BULLOCK
Capt 41st Regt

Captain Loring Aid de Camp &. &. &. York

A MORNING REPORT, AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

Morning Report of a detachment of Rangers on command — Prairie du Chiens — under command of Maj. J[ames] Campbell

Camp Hard Water No 15. July 19th 1814	Present							Sick					
	For duty					per Music	on board C & S boats						
	Lieutenants	Serjeants	Corporals	Musicians	Privates	Privates	Privates	Lieutenants	Serjeants	Corporals	Privates	Total	Aggregate
Lt Weaver Detach. Infantry.....	1	2	..	2	2	1	8	..	..	..	8	41	42
Lt Rectors ditto Rangers	..	1	1	..	24	.....	.....	1	..	..	6	32	33
Lt. Riggs ditto ditto..	1	1	1	..	24	.....	.....	..	..	..	6	32	33
	2	4	2	2	68	1	8	1	..	..	20	105	108

FROM THE MOUTH OF THE ROCK.[1]

MOUTH OF ROCK RIVER July 20th 1814

SIR,—I arrived here about ten o'clock yesterday and was met by the Indians bearing a Flag, several of them spoke but had little to say of importance, they appear friendly and well disposed. Nothing of importance has happened since I last wrote to you & shall set out in a few moments and lose no time till I arrive at my place of destination which will be in seven or eight days. Two Indians leave this place as express to Prairie du Chien. The Indians by which this letter will be handed you are Sacks and sent by the request of Governor Clark.[2]

The Troops are considerably unhealthy and am in bad health myself.

Indorsed: – "Supposed to be written by Major Campbell commanding the reinforcements on their way to Fort Shelby, now Fort Mackay & where he was to command — he was next day attacked, by the above "friendly and well disposed" Indians & his whole detachment to a man cut off & himself killed, the Indians brot in his passes & commission."

LIEUT. COL. M'KAY TO LIEUT. COL. M'DOUALL.[3]

FORT MCKAY August 1st 1814.

Lt. Col. R. McDouall Commanding Michillimackinac and its dependencies &c. &c.

SIR,— Captain Rolette's[4] business calling him to Michilimackinac and as everything is pretty well settled here I allow him to go, a part of the volunteers from the Bay such as heads of families, and all those that have harvest to gather in I also give them their liberty — they have behaved well.

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[1] Unaddressed and unsigned.— ED.

[2] William Clark, governor of Missouri. See sketch, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 258, 259.— ED.

[3] See *Ibid.*, xi., p. 263 for McKay's letter of July 27 and 29, to Lieut. Colonel Robert McDouall of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, giving an account of the capture of Fort Shelby, now named Fort McKay.—ED.

[4] Joseph Rolette, fur trader at Prairie du Chien. See *Ibid.*, index.— ED.

The Sauks, Renards, Kickapoos and part of the Sioux have left this yesterday. The little Corbeau [1] has gone to distribute the presents they got at McKinac to his nation. The Feuille [2] remains here with a few men as a guard. The little Corbeau will remain at his own village in readiness at a moments warning if wanted here — But intends coming with his whole band to winter a short distance above this.

I am now putting in order the Fort &c here & will have everything in as good a state of defence as circumstance will admit in a short time. As soon as the Gun Boat, that I have sent to the Rock River for the guns the Indians had taken returns and if everything at that time wears a favorable aspect I will leave this for McKinac, and make the best of my — in for I certainly could not live six months in this very warm climate. I think the sooner a reinforcement is sent out the better. Powder is particularly requisite there remaining none but what is for the garrison. Exclusive of the Sioux presents I have sent below among the Sauks Renards & Kickapoos 20 Kegs of Gun Powder & 14 Bales goods. The Puants did not use one ounce of the Powder they got at McKinac for the use of this Expedition. On the contrary they lett their guns and Ammunition on their own lands — so that I have been obliged to furnish them, ever since they have been with us.

Enclosed you will receive sundry of the Enemies' papers taken by the indians &c amongst which is an Illinois newspaper of the 18th Ultimo. giving a short detail of their expedition up here, and that most gallant action of having stormed & taken two old trunks belonging to R. Dickson Esq. a grand prize for Gov. Clark, the two trunks containing old Merchantile letters & accounts since the year 1786. This will be a good acquisition to the Governor who I presume will have them exposed for sale in his store for the purpose of pasting windows. My forces here at present are about 120 consisting of Michigans Volunteers & Militia

[1] Little Crow (*Corbeau*), a Sioux chief, concerning whom consult *Id.*, x., index, and xi., p. 276.— Ed.

[2] Wabasha, or The Leaf (*La Feuille*). Cf. *Id.*, xi., pp. 263, 290.— Ed.

there is also about 50 idle Indians about the village. I send in by Capt. Rolette two British deserters found here in the American service and two bad subjects who were very busy when the Americans arrived here in wishing to depreciate the British Character, One of the name of Pinard, was most particularly active in this abuse. Captain Rolette begs me to request you will give him his discharge as it is not convenient for him to remain in the service. Capt. Anderson[1] on the contrary wishes to remain during the war. I send herewith the names of those prisoners sent to St. Louis. The American Troops that were stationed here are of the 7th U. S. regiment.

I have the honor to be Sir
Your obedient Humble Servant
W. McKay
Lt. Col. Comg.

DRUMMOND TO PREVOST.

Camp Near Fort Erie August 11th 1814

Sir,—

* * * * * * * *

I have directed an account of the outrages committed by the Enemy against the unsuspecting Winnebagoes at Prairie des Chiens, to be communicated to all the Indians here, in Council this day.—I trust it will have the desired effect of creating in them a spirit of enterprize, and of renewing that ardour which appears in many to be at present nearly extinct.[2]

I have the honor to be Sir
Your Excellency's most obedt humble servant
Gordon Drummond
Lt. Genl.

His Excellency Sir Geo. Prevost Bart &c &c

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[1] Thomas G. Anderson, trader at Milwaukee. Consult *Ibid.*, index.— Ed.

[2] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 260, where Colonel McDouall claims that the Americans murdered seven Winnebagoes.— Ed.

DRUMMOND TO PREVOST.

CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE August 31st 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose herewith two dispatches[1] from Lieut: Colonel McKay, of the Canadian Militia, to Lieutenant Colonel Macdouall, Commanding at Michillimackinac, detailing the operations of the Force under his orders, against the Enemy's position at La Prairie des Chiens.—

The Conduct of Lieut Coln McKay, and the Troops, accompanying him, appears to be most highly deserving of commendation.

The Despatches I transmit to Your Excellency at the request of Lieutenant Colonel Macdouall.

I have the honor to be Sir
Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant
GORDON DRUMMOND
Lt. Genl.

His Excellency Sir George Prevost Bart &c. &c. &c.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR DISTRIBUTING INDIAN PRESENTS.

Instructions for the distribution of Indian Presents, Embarked in thirteen Canoes under the charge of Mr. Porlier[2] for Michilimackinac &c

A canoe having been detained here for medals, silver works and Flags not then arrived, and to carry more particular instructions regarding the Indian Presents in the Twelve Canoes lately dispatched, including what the present one may contain, I now confirm what was written by Mr. Porlier, vizt., that the goods marked M with the exceptions herein after mentioned, are for the Indians usually supplied from the Post with Presents, and to be distributed as such under the direction of the officer commanding, with the customary formalities, and in such manner as shall be

[1] McDouall's dispatch of July 16, 1814, and McKay's of July 27, 1814, are given in *Ibid.*, pp. 260–270.— ED.

[2] Lieutenant James J. Porlier. Cf. *Id.*, x. and xi., indexes.— ED.

most conducive to the benefit of His Majesty's service, for confirming the Indians in their attachment to this Government, or reclaiming such of them (if any there be) as from any unforseen Misfortune or Circumstance may be wavering.

Those goods marked I, with the additions below are intended as presents to the Western Indians who are under the agency of Robert Dickson Esq. and especially such tribes thereof as furnished warriors under his directions, or by his orders; and are on no account to be touched at the Post, otherwise than for safe keeping, until he or Captain Wm McKay, or some other person especially sent, shall appear for the purpose of conducting the same to La Baye, or such other place as may be found most proper for the distribution thereof of Mr Dickson, Capt McKay or such other person especially sent, to the Western Indians under his Agency as above said in such manner as he shall judge to be most conducive to the benefit of His Majesty's service as above said.

It being considered an object of the greatest importance under present circumstances, that the goods I with the additions after mentioned should be sent to La Baye or further, The officer Commanding at Michilimackinac will grant every possible aid for affecting that object by furnishing Batteaux or canoes and takling, with men to man them, from the Corps of Michigan Fencibles, who should be instructed to follow the orders of Mr. Dickson or Capt McKay whilst employed in the conveyance of these goods.

Instructions were sent by Mr. Porlier, that all the Canoes and takling from hence are to be delivered over to Mr. Frederick Oliver, after unloading, excepting twelve Oyl Cloths, which are to be retained for the protection from the weather, of the said goods I when transporting to La Baye.

These instructions are now confirmed and Mr. Oliver will provision the Guides and men on their voyage down with Packs, respecting which they are to follow his orders, the officer commanding will cease to have further trouble with them.

As the Ball & Shot were not susceptible of being marked,

so as to retain it visible the distribution thereof is to be as follows, viz:

24	Bags	Ball	M and	36	bags	for	I
4	"	Beaver	do "	8	"	"	I
10	"	Duck	do "	10	"	"	I

If of the Gunpowder sent this season there now remains at Michilimackinac ten kegs or upwards the commanding officer will in such case, retain only 20 kegs of that lately sent, and consider sixty one thereof as belonging to the goods I and to accompany the same, but if there are not 10 kegs of the former powder remaining, then thirty kegs of that by these Canoes, are to remain for M and fifty one to be applied to the mark I and be forwarded therewith, at same time it is much wished that there may be the means of sending sixty kegs of powder with the goods I.

The Tobacco being by mistake all marked M Twenty five bales thereof viz: 41 & 65 only, are for that mark, and forty bales vizt: 1 & 40 are for the goods I and consequently to sent with them. the same as if those bales had been so marked.

The medals, silver Works & Flags, not having been yet received here, must form the subject of a separate memorandum at the foot of the Invoice or otherwise.

And the officer commanding, as well as Mr. Dickson and all others concerned, are to consider it as a most peremptory and special instruction, that the strictest impartiality in the distribution to Indians is to be followed, and the good of His Majesty's service is to be the paramount rule.

All the goods without exception are in the first instance to be Delivered over to the senior officer in the Indian Department, who will afterwards without delay, transfer the portion destined for La Baye to Mr. Dickson, Capt McKay or other person appointed to take charge thereof, for the purpose of being distributed according to the instructions herein given.

By authority of the Commander of the Forces

(Sgd) R. H. SHEAFFE

M. Genl. & &

To the Commanding officer and all others concerned Michilimackinac & & &

THE DUKE OF YORK[1] TO PREVOST.

HORSE GUARDS 15th Octr. 1814

SIR,—

* * * * * * * *

I am very much pleased with the report you communicate of the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel McDoual in the repulse of the Enemy's attacks upon the Posts of Michilimackinac and also of the successful Issue of an Expedition from that Island under Lieut: Colonel McKay against the American Establishment at La Prairie du Chein.

I am Sir Yours

FREDERICK

Commander in Chief

Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost Bt &c &c &c

INDIAN STORES DELIVERED TO DICKSON.

Invoice of Sundry Indian Stores delivered Robert Dickson Esqr. Agent & Superintendent of the Western Nations by order of Lieut. Coln. McDouall Comdg Michilimackinac.

Arm Bands		Pairs	thirty
Buttons		doz	Twenty four
Beads		Pounds	thirty
Brooches		No	Eighteen hundred and 74
Ball & Shot		lbs	Five thousand & 460
Blankets	1 point	No	one hundred & seventy nine
	1½ do	"	Ninety
	2 do	"	One hundred & ninety seven
	2½ do	"	Eleven hundred & three
	3 do	"	Two hundred & ninety five
Cotton striped		Yards	Four hundred & eight
Cloth Broad		"	One hundred & fifty one
Candle week		Balls	Six
Ear bobs		Pairs	Twelve hundred & fifty

[1] Field Marshal H. R. H. Frederick, Duke of York, K. G. and K. B., commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces.—ED.

Epualets		No	Ten
Flints		"	Four thousand five hundred
Feathers		"	Ten
Files & Rasps		"	Eighteen
Gorgets		"	Forty
Garnets		Bunches	Fifteen
Gartering		Gro.	Eleven
Guns	Muskets	No	Five
	Common	"	One hundred & five
	Chiefs & fine	"	One hundred & thirty eight
Gun powder		lbs.	Three thousand nine hundred & 33.
Hats Laced		No	Twenty seven
Handfs	Silk	"	Four hundred & sixteen
	Cotton	"	Fifty
Hangers		"	Eighteen
Hooks Cod		"	Two hundred
Iron		pounds	One hundred & two
Knives butcher		No	Five hundred & sixty six
Kettles Tin		"	Sixty
Lace Brocade		Yards	Two hundred
Molton		"	Two hundred
Needles		No	Three thousand five hundred
Pistols		"	Six
Ribbon		Yds	Nine hundred
Skins deer		No	Fifty
Silk Sewing		pounds	One
Steel	fire	No	Seventeen hundred & thirty two
	German	lbs	Forty two
Sheeting Russia		Yds	Seventy five
Saches silk		No	Five
Lines Cod		"	Fourteen
Strouds		Yds	Eighteen hundred & twenty
Flour		lbs	Four thousand
Thread	Sewing	lbs	Forty eight
	Net	"	Eighteen
Twine		"	Twenty eight
Tommyhawks Pipe		No	Four

Vermillion	lbs	Fifty eight
Wampum collars	No	Nine
Worms Gun	Gro	Two

INDIAN DEPARTMENT MICHILIMACKINAC 29th OCTR 1814

JNO ASKIN[1]

M'KAY TO PREVOST.[2]

Report made by Capt. William McKay to His Excellency Sir George Prevost.

Captain William McKay has the Honor to Report to His Excellency Sir George Prevost Governor General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in America, that in compliance to instructions received from Major General Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe by authority from the Commander of the Forces, a copy of which instructions are hereunto annexed, Capt. McKay on the 21st day of September last left Montreal on a voyage to Michilimackinac in a Canoe with Medals, Silver Works and Flags, &c part of the Indian presents; That twelve Canoes, loaded with Indian Presents left Montreal about the 12th September. That this last mentioned Canoes Capt. McKay overtook on the 26th September at a place called Mantua or the entrance of the little river. That Capt. McKay informed Mr. Porlier who had charge of the said Canoes, that he had the instructions from the Commander of the Forces to proceed to Michilimackinac and take measures comformable to such instructions with Mr. Robert Dickson if arrived at Michilimackinac for the purpose of distributing the said Indian Presents to the Several Tribes of Indians according to the instructions and desire of Government. That Capt. McKay for that purpose proceeded on, and desired Mr. Porlier to follow him with the utmost expedition. Capt. McKay arrived at Michilimackinac on the 9th day of October, and not finding Mr. Dickson there, Capt. McKay immediately reported

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[1] Captain John Askin. Consult *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., index.— ED.

[2] Undated, but bearing internal evidence of having been written early in November, 1814.— ED.

his arrival to Capt Bullock of the 41st Regiment Commanding the Fort of Michilimackinac and communicated to him the instructions of his mission there, and as Mr. Dickson was not arrived, he Capt. McKay would require assistance as he expected he would be obliged to proceed to La Baye and the Mississippi with the goods and presents he had with him as well as those coming on with Mr. Porlier. That Capt. Bullock afforded Capt. McKay every assistance in preparing for his intended voyage, in Boats, men & pro visions, &c. &c. That the said twelve Canoes under Mr. Porlier arrived at Michilimackinac on the 19th & 20th October. That Capt. McKay delivered over all the goods mkd M to Mr. Askin the senior officer of the Indian Department and retained those markd I and as the winter was there set in, and nearly a foot of snow on the Ground and all the small brooks frozen over, not a moment was lost to load the boats prepared to forward the said goods and presents to their respective destination conformable to the Instructions Capt. McKay had received upon his leaving Montreal. That Capt. McKay had taken every precaution to proceed in person to La Baye and the Mississipi as Mr. Dickson had not arrived at Michilimackinac. However when everything was ready for the Departure of Capt. McKay Mr. Dickson arrived and to him Capt. McKay gave over six Boats which he had loaded with the goods and presents marked I intended for the Western Indians, at the same time Capt McKay offered to accompany Mr. Dickson if he Mr. Dickson thought his presence any wise necessary upon which Mr. Dickson observed to Capt. McKay, that he had with him several officers and interpreters and that he would distribute the said goods and presents to the Indians according to the desire and wishes of Government, and particularly desired that Capt. McKay would return to Lower Canada and report to the Commander of the Forces the very great desire he Mr. Dickson had to receive by express, as soon as possible, instructions, what the Government wished him to do in respect to the Tribes of Indians next spring, that for the present he was quite at a loss how to act, that in the meantime he would endeavour to do for the best. Capt.

McKay cannot refrain from again mentioning the very great anxiety evinced by Mr. Dickson to have instructions from Government for his Guidence and conduct in respect to the Tribes of Indians under his influence; That on the 24th October Mr. Dickson having received from the commanding officer and from Capt. McKay every assistance, set out for LaBay and the Mississipi with six boats loaded with the said presents and maned with a detachment of the Michigan Fencibles consisting of a Lieutenant and 26 men and 14 Canadians, Mr. Dickson brought with him from York. That although the season was much advanced as above mentioned Capt. McKay has no doubt but Mr. Dickson will arrive at his destination and there find the Indians waiting for him, as Capt. McKay immediately and without the least loss of time sent an Express, one to Rock [Rocque] an Indian Interpreter to acquaint the Indians that the presents were coming on, and that Mr. Dickson or he Capt. McKay, would go on with them to make the distribution thereof. As provisions were scarce at Michilimackinac, Capt. McKay knowing that flour could be obtained at LaBay sent on a Mr. [Louis] Grignon to procure it and have it ready so that the two boats with 14 men that were to go to Labay might return immediately with Flour which from the precautions taken, Mr. McKay has no doubt will be done, in order to obtain a further supply of Provisions, Capt. Bullock was the day after Capt McKay left Michilimackinac, that is on the 27th October to send two boats to Machidash Bay for the Pork and Flour, Mr. Dickson informed Captain Bullock had been there forwarded by Government, That all these arrangements having been made, Capt. McKay on the 25th Octr. left Michilimackinac to return to Montreal, where he arrived on the 5th November and has now the honor of making this present report to the Commander of the Forces.

COURT OF INQUIRY AT GREEN BAY.

Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry held on the 13th November 1814 at Green Bay, Lake Michigan, pursuant to instructions from Lieut Colonel McDouall, commanding the Island of Michilimackinac and its dependencies.

Captain Bulger Captain Royal Newfoundland Regt
President

Robert Dickson Esq. Agt & Superdnt of the Western Indians
Captain Duncan Graham of the Indian Department
} Members

The Court proceeded to investigate the losses of certain individuals of Green Bay, from depradations committed on their property by the Indians.[1]

The following statement of their losses in Cattle was laid before the Court.

Jacques Porlair		
1 Calf valued at	£5	
1 large Hog	6– 5	
1 middling do.	3– 2– 6	
2 Horses at £10–8–4 each	20–16– 8	
		35– 4– 2
Louis Grignon		
1 Cow valued at	16–13– 4	
1 Colt	6– 5–	
2 Bulls at 10-8-4 each	20–16– 8	
4 large Hogs at 6–5 each	25–	
		68–15–
Brisque Yott		
1 Draft Ox	20–16– 8	
1 Cow	16–13– 4	
5 large hogs £6–5 each	31– 5	
12 small do 16–8 each	10	
		78–15

[1] See "List of Inhabitants at Green Bay, September 14, 1818," in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, x., pp. 136–140. The value of live stock in Green Bay, as set forth in the following claims, would have been exorbitant on a gold basis, but the currency in circulation was depreciated paper. See *Id.*, xi., p. 274, *note*, for fac similes of the paper money then in use in Wisconsin.— Ed.

Louis Gravelle			
2 Heifers of 1 year at £5	each	10	
3 large Hogs	6– 5	18–15	
7 small do	16– 8	5–16– 8	
			34–11– 8
Alexis Garrupy			
1 Mare		10– 8– 4	
1 Draft Ox		20–16– 8	
2 large Hogs at £6– 5–	ea	12–10	
4 middling do	3– 2– 6 ea	12–10	
			56– 5
Dominique Brunette			
10 middling hogs at	3– 2– 6 ea	31– 5	
3 large do	6– 5– ea	18–15	
1 cow		16–13– 4	
1 bull		10– 8– 4	
1 Colt 2½ years		6– 5	
1 do 1 year		3–	
			86– 6– 8
Joseph Jourdain & Paul Decharme			
2 Draft Oxen at £20–6–8 ea		41–13– 4	
1 Cow		16–13– 4	
1 large Hog		6– 5	
1 Calf of 5 months		3	
2 middling Hogs £3–2–6 ea		6– 5	
			73–16– 8
J. B. Jacobs & B. Chevallier			
2 Cows at £16–13–4 ea		33– 6– 8	
			33– 6– 8
Augustin Bonneterre			
1 Cow		16–13– 4	
			16–13– 4
Jacques Veau			
2 Draft Oxen at £20–16–8 ea		41–13– 4	
1 Horse		10– 8– 4	
6 large Hogs at £6–5 ea		37–10	
2 middling do	3–[illegible]–6	6– 5	
			95–16– 8

Gabriel Rabbi		
2 large Hogs £6–5 ea	12–10	
2 Horses 10–8–4 ea	20–16– 8	
		33– 6– 8
George Forsin		
2 Cows £16–13–4 ea	33– 6– 8	
1 Draft Ox	20–16– 8	
1 large Hog	6– 5	
6 middling do. £3–2–6	18–15	
		79– 3– 4
Amable Narimont		
2 Bulls £10–8–4 ea	20–16– 8	
1 Horse	10– 8– 4	
		31– 5
Francais L'Aventure		
1 Cow	16–13– 4	
3 large Hogs £6–5 ea	18–15	
		35– 8– 4
Charles Reaume		
1 Draft Ox	20–16	
1 Young Ox of 2 years	10– 8– 4	
2 Cows at £16–13–4 ea	33– 6– 8	
1 large Hog	6– 5	
4 middling do at £3–2–6 ea	12–10	
1 mare	10– 8– 4	
1 Colt	3	
		96–15
J. B. Langevin		
2 Oxen of 2½ years at £10–8–4 ea	20–16– 8	
2 large Hogs 6–5	12–10	
		33– 6– 8
Joseph Rai		
1 Cow	16–13– 4	
1 Calf	5	
1 middling Hog	3– 2– 6	
1 small do	16– 8	
		23–12– 6

Madame Eccyer			
2 Draft Oxen at	£20–16–8 ea	104– 3– 4	
2 Oxen of 2 & 3 years	£10–[illegible]–4	20–16– 8	
3 Cows	£16–13–4	50	
1 Horse		10– 8– 4	
			185– 8– 4
Hypolite Grignan			
1 cow		16– 3– 4	
			16– 3– 4
Pierre Grignan			
4 Draft Oxen at	£20–16– 8 ea	83– 6– 8	
3 young do	10– 8– 4 ea	31– 5	
6 cows	16–13– 4 ea	100	
2 calves	3– ea	6	
6 small Hogs	16– 8 ea	5	
			225–11– 8
Augustin Grignan			
1 large Hog		6– 5	
			6– 5
Louis Petel			
1 large Hog		6– 5	
3 middling do		9– 7– 6	
			15–12– 6
J. B. Le Borde			
3 Draft Oxen at	£20–16– 8 ea	62–10	
2 Cows	16–13– 4 ea	33– 6– 8	
1 Calf		3	
10 large hogs	£6– 5– ea	62–10	
2 small do	16– 8 ea	1–13– 4	
2 Horses	10– 8– 4 ea	20–16– 8	
			183–16 8
Joseph Ducharme			
2 Draft Oxen at	£20–16– 8 ea	41–13– 4	
1 Cow		16–13– 4	
4 large Hogs	6– 5 ea	25	
9 middling do	3– 2– 6 ea	28– 2– 6	
			111– 9– 2
Pierre Charon			
1 large Hog	6– 5		
			6–5

Pierre Ulrique			
2 Draft Oxen at	£20–16– 8 ea	41–13– 4	
6 large Hogs	6– 5 ea	37–10	
2 small do	16– 8 ea	1–13– 4	
			80–16– 8
Francais St. Roc.			
1 Mare		10– 8– 4	
1 Young ox		10– 8– 4	
			20–16– 8
Baptiste Papin			
1 Draft Ox		20–16– 8	
			20–16– 8
Joseph Latout			
1 large Hog		6– 5	
1 small ox		16– 8	
			7– 1– 8
Francais Roi			
1 Cow		16–13– 4	
1 Middling Hog		3– 2– 6	
			19–15–10
Amable Grignan			
1 Bull of 2 years		10– 8– 4	
			10– 8– 4
Pierre Cochinneau			
2 Draft Oxen at	£20–16– 8 ea	41–13– 4	
2 Cows	16–13– 4 ea	33– 6– 8	
1 Horse		10– 8– 4	
4 large Hogs	6– 5 ea	25	
2 Calves	3 ea	6	
			116– 8– 4
Joseph Bouchie			
1 draft Ox		20–16– 8	
			20–16– 8
André Lachaise			
1 large Hog		6– 5–	
2 small do at –16– 8d ea		1–13– 4	
			7–18– 4
Claude La Framboise			
1 Horse		10– 8– 4	
			10– 8– 4

Jacob Franks			
9 large hogs at	£6– 5– ea	£56– 5–	
11 middling do	3– 2–6	34– 7– 6	
1 calf		3–	
5 horses	10– 8–4	31– 5	
4 Draft Oxen	20–16–8	83– 6– 8	
2 Cows	16–13–4	16–13– 4	
1 Young Ox	10– 8–4	10– 8– 4	
1 Colt	3–	3	
			254–19– 2
Jean Baptiste Maranda			
2 Young oxen	£10– 8–4 ea	20–16– 8	
1 draft Ox	20–16–8	20–16– 8	
1 Large Hog	6– 5	6– 5	
7 middling do	3– 2–	21–17– 6	
			69–15–10
Total amount of Losses in Cattle			£2303–12– 6
Depredations committed by the Indians on the Crops estimated at 2710 dollars			677–10–
Total Loss sustained Currency			£2981– 2– 6

In submitting the foregoing statement of losses sustained by the Inhabitants of this place, the court beg leave to remark, that they have had no means of ascertaining its correctness but from enquiries made amongst the Inhabitants and others who were supposed to have had opportunities of judging thereof. the result of those enquiries has induced the court to believe the statement correct. The valuation has been affixed by a committee appointed for that purpose by the court and is deemed fair.

signed A. Bulger
Captain & President
— " — R. Dickson
Agt & Supt. Western Nations
— " — Duncan Graham
Capt. Ind. Department.

Green Bay 13th Novr 1814

MARTIAL LAW IN WISCONSIN.

A Proclamation.

Whereas it is necessary from the disturbed state of the Country, that Martial Law should be declared. I do by virtue of the power and authority vested in me, hereby proclaim Martial Law to be in force throughout the Country, from the date hereof — of which all officers Civil and military, and all persons whatsoever are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand in Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien the 31st Decr. 1814 (signed)

A BULGER, Captain
Commanding on the Mississippi.

ROBERT DICKSON, THE INDIAN TRADER.

BY ERNEST ALEXANDER CRUIKSHANK.[1]

Shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War, three brothers Dickson emigrated from Dumfrieshire, Scotland, to Canada. One of these, William, settled as a barrister at Niagara, then the chief town and centre of trade and for a few years the capital of the recently-constituted province of Upper Canada, and attained considerable local eminence in the practice of his profession. Thomas, the second brother, established himself as a merchant and forwarder of goods at Queenston, seven miles distant at the foot of the portage around the Great Falls. He too prospered and became the proprietor of many acres in the vicinity. He was soon appointed a magistrate and an officer in the militia, and in due time was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the Second Lincoln regiment, which he commanded during the whole of the War of 1812–15. He was wounded in the battle of Chippawa and was specially mentioned in despatches on this occasion.

The third and most adventurous of the three, Robert, the subject of this sketch, turned his attention to the western fur-trade, a calling which doubtless promised the richest rewards but was attended with extraordinary risks and hardships. The earliest mention of his name in an official document occurs in a report of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe to

[1] Mr. Cruikshank is a resident of Fort Erie, Ont., and author of *A Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the County of Welland, Ontario*; *The Settlement and Early History of the Niagara Peninsula*; *The Battle of Lundy's Lane*, 1814, and several other historical monographs. The present sketch was written for this volume of *Wisconsin Historical Collections* at the request of the Editor. It fitly supplements the "Dickson and Grignon Papers" in vols. x. and xi., and letters by Dickson in the present volume, *ante*.— ED.

the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade and Plantations, dated September 1, 1794.

"The trade to the Northwest," Simcoe remarked, "is carried on by a powerful and enterprising company. The trade from Mackinac which is the general place of deposit on Lake Huron to the Rivers which flow into the Mississippi is of the utmost importance. It would be of great advantage if a British factory could be established on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Ouisconsin. The lands of the Indians might be purchased by the Crown and annual presents to the value of £500 delivered at Mackinac. The factory to have no monopoly, their advantage to result from the distribution of presents. Intercourse with Kentucky by this means might have the effect of turning their trade towards Canada."

A letter from Robert Dickson to the Hon. Robert Hamilton of Queenston, describing the usual routes of trade between Mackinac and the Mississippi, dated at Mackinac, the fourteenth of July, 1793, probably written at Simcoe's request, was enclosed.

It is not certain whether Dickson was then trading on his own account or had become a partner in the Northwest Company, but it is evident that he was already regarded as an authority on the subject and familiar with the country.

"The communication between Mackinac and the Mississippi," he stated, "is carried on by two routes, the one by Chicago, the other by the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, the latter is preferred on account of the shortness of the carrying-place. Leaving this place, the navigation is difficult for the course lies on the north side, owing to shoals, until the Traverse at the entrance of the bay is reached. The land is poor and barren on the north side of the Lake until near LaBaye where the soil is excellent and the seasons are early. Here it has long been settled from Canada by people who sow a little grain and have about 100 cattle which run in the woods.

"At the Falls of the Fox River there is a portage of three-quarters of a mile. The Indians here raise Indian

corn, squash, potatoes, melons, and cucumbers in great abundance and good tobacco. On the low lands by the river great quantities of wild oats grow. In the spring when the water is high, canoes pass without unloading; in the middle of the carrying-place one sees the separation of the current, part of which falls into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and part into the Gulf of Mexico. The distance from the portage to the Mississippi is sixty leagues, about two leagues from where the Ouisconsin falls into the Mississippi there is a meadow of about three leagues in width called Prairie du Chien. Here a good number of families are settled. They have lately got cattle from the Illinois and begin to raise wheat."

He then proceeded to describe the settlements down the Mississippi as far as New Orleans, and the state and numbers of the Spanish garrison, apparently from personal observation, and concluded with a few remarks upon the Indians of the Northwest.

"The Ottawas or Court Oreilles," he said, "reside chiefly on the south side of Lake Michigan, they are a political and dangerous set and have much influence with the other tribes. The Chippewas or Saulteaux extend over a vast tract of country and are very numerous. No other nations are found round Lakes Superior and Huron. The Folles Avoines or Minomonees live chiefly at LaBaye. They are not numerous but are esteemed a brave nation by the others. In autumn they generally leave LaBaye and winter on the upper parts of the Mississippi and Ouisconsin.'

About this time, Mr. Dickson seems to have served as the channel of communication between the Spanish governor of New Orleans and the British governor of Upper Canada, and in a letter of January 2, 1794, the Baron de Carondelet remarks in opening the correspondence that "being persuaded that it is to the interest of the English that the Illinois remain in the hands of Spain, he turns to him (Simcoe) for assistance."

The next twenty years of Dickson's life were spent almost without interruption in the Indian country. Those

were the golden days of the fur trade. The Northwest Company was at the zenith of its prosperity. When the company was originally organized in 1783, expectations of gain were so moderate that an old trader, being offered the profits of a single share or an annuity of 4000 livres (about $800), chose the latter. Yet he lived to see a clear profit of more than £2,000 sterling ($10,000) realized from three shares annually.

A fleet of fifty *canoes de maitre*, manned by a body of one thousand men, annually set out from Lachine in the spring loaded with merchandise for the distant west. Having surmounted the forty-two portages of the Ottawa and French Rivers, it usually arrived at Grand Portage or, in later years, Kaministiquia, at the head of Lake Superior, in the beginning of June, when the goods were divided among the various trading parties and furs taken on board for the return voyage. Between two and three thousand persons, all servants of the company, were assembled there for a few weeks while this was being accomplished. They then dispersed to their several trading posts, where they remained until the same time the following year.

Dickson's adventures during this period form a chapter in the "Book of Things Forgotten," which may not now be easily rewritten. Every contemporary traveller in that little-known region mentioned him. In November, 1805, Lieutenant (afterwards General) Z. M. Pike found him on the Mississippi, a hundred miles above Prairie du Chien, where he had a station and several branches.[1] Pike speaks of him as "a gentleman of commercial knowledge and possessing much geographical knowledge of the western country and of open, frank manners."

At this time Dickson appears to have been connected in some way with the Northwest Company. His principal post was at Red Cedar Lake, but he controlled several others in charge of agents. He paid Pike much attention, which was gratefully acknowledged, and furnished him

[1] Pike's *Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1810), pp. 46 *et seq.*— Ed.

with valuable information, particularly a long and minute account of the route from Mackinac to the Mississippi by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, which was printed in the appendix to the *Travels*.

Everywhere along the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries, the influence of the Northwest Company was paramount. Their establishments were to be found "at every suitable place along the whole extent of Lake Superior to its head, from thence to the source of the Red River, and extending to the very center of our newly-acquired territory of Louisiana." Its most active and influential representatives, Dickson, Aird, Cameron, Grant, and McGillis, were Scotchmen, and their substantial stockaded forts everywhere excited Pike's displeasure by flying the British flag.

"There being so many furnished posts," he prophetically remarked, "in the case of a rupture between the powers, the English government would not fail to use them as places of deposit of arms and ammunition to be distributed to the savages who joined their arms, to the great annoyance of our territory and the loss of the lives of our citizens." His description of the network of posts and adventurous operations of this great trading corporation fires the imagination. "They by a late purchase of the King's Posts extend their line of trade from Hudson Bay to the St. Lawrence, up that river on both sides to the Lakes; from thence to the head of Lake Superior, at which place the Northwest Company have their headquarters, from thence to the source of the Red River and on all its tributary streams through the country to the Missouri; through the waters of Lake Winnipic to the Saskashawin; on that river to its source — up Elk River to the Lake of the Hills — up Peace River to the Rocky Mountains — from the Lake of the Hills up Slave River to Slave Lake; and this year have despatched a Mr. Mackenzie on a voyage of trade and discovery down Mackenzie's River to the North Sea and also a Mr. McCoy to cross the Rocky Mountains and proceed to the Western Ocean with the same objects in view. They had a gentle-

man named Thompson making a geographical survey of the Northwest part of the continent who for three years with an astonishing spirit of enterprise passed over all that extensive and unknown country."

When it was found that the Grand Portage lay within the territory of the United States, the principal station of the company on Lake Superior was removed to Kaministiquia, where Fort William[1] was built, and upon the surrender of Mackinac a new route to the Mississippi was explored from Fond du Lac to the Mississippi up the St. Louis river, thence by a portage to the Savanna River, down it to Sandy Lake, and then down Sandy River.

Some years later, the traveller Bradbury met Dickson, and mentions that the fearless trader had without a single companion traversed the immense tract of almost unknown country lying between St Louis and the headwaters of the Missouri.[2]

Edward A. Neill describes him, probably from local tradition, as a red-haired Scot, of strong intellect, ardently attached to the British crown, the head of the Indian trade of Minnesota, and possessing great influence among the Dakotas from having married the sister of Red Thunder, one of their bravest chiefs.[3]

Evidently he made no secret of his power and sentiments, for, as early as 1811, Ninian Edwards, governor of the Indian Territory, warned the secretary of war that "Dickson hopes to engage all the Indians in opposition to the United States by making peace between the Chippewas and Sioux and having them declare war against us."

In August, 1811, Dickson left Amherstburg with a large supply of goods, and in spite of the efforts made to prevent him from entering the territory of the United States by the officers in command at Mackinac and Chicago, succeeded in reaching his customary trading place on the Missis-

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[1] See Irving's *Astoria*, chap. i.— Ed.

[2] Bradbury's *Travels in the Interior of America, in the years* 1809, 1810 *and* 1811 (Liverpool, 1817), p. 17, *note*.— Ed.

[3] Neill's *History of Minnesota* (4th ed., Minneapolis, 1882), p. 279.— Ed.

sippi. According to his own account, preserved in the Canadian Archives, he found the agents of the United States remarkably active, making presents to the Indians and inviting their chiefs to visit Washington. He immediately took decisive steps to counteract their efforts. The Indians were in great distress, all their crops having failed owing to a great drouth during the summer, which also drove all the game northward from their usual hunting grounds in quest of food. He remained there during the winter and distributed among them, without payment, his entire stock of goods, which had cost him at Montreal about $10,000. The lives of many were preserved by this means, and the Indians became more firmly attached to him than ever. Even then their condition was deplorable, and unless supplies of goods could be introduced into the country there was a great probability that many must perish. In the spring, Dickson took his departure for Canada, promising them that he would return with further supplies. When at the portage of the Fox-Wisconsin, in the beginning of June, he met two runners bearing the following message from General Brock, the commander of the British forces in Upper Canada, with whom he had maintained some secret correspondence:

"*Confidential communication sent by Capt. J. B. Glegg, from York, 27th February, 1812, to Mr. Dickson, residing among the Indians near the Mississippi and received by him early in June.*

"War may result from the present situation: I wish to know:—

1. The number of your friends that might be depended on;
2. Their disposition towards us;
3. Would they assemble and march under your orders;
4. State the succor you require and the most eligible mode of its conveyance;
5. Can *equipments* be procured in your *country?*
6. An immediate direct communication with you is very much required;
7. Can you point out how it can be accomplished?

8. Send without loss of time a few *faithful* and *very confidential* agents selected from *your friends;*
9. Will individuals approach the Detroit frontier next spring? If so state time and place, *we* may meet.

"Avoid mentioning names in your *written communications.* I have received your *two letters.* Recollect to whom you promised to procure *shrubs* and *small trees.*"[1]

———

"*Reply dated 18th June, 1812, and received at Fort George.*

1. The number of my friends would have been more but scarcity of provisions had reduced them to 250 or 300 of all sorts of different languages;
2. All of the same disposition as enclosed;
3. All ready to march under proper persons commissioned for the purpose;
4. An express to be sent to St. Josephs by Indians or vessels. Provisions and all sorts of proper goods required — flags, one dozen large medals with gorgets and a few small ones;
5. Equipments if timely notice is given, can be procured in the country.
6. and 7. The bearer will inform;
8. Seventy-nine of our friends left where this came from;
9. St. Josephs the general rendezvous and all our friends will be there about the 30th inst. An express to the Mississippi would be of great service."

Three speeches were enclosed, delivered by Wabasha and Little Crow (Sioux), and a third chief unnamed, stating that they had been amused for some time by bad birds, but that they lived by the English traders and would adhere to the English.

A chosen band of thirty Menomonees, or Folles Avoines, under the chief Weenusate, was despatched to Amherstburg without delay. This party arrived there about the

[1] "Chiefs and warriors," marginal note in pencil.— AUTHOR.

time that the declaration of war became known. Twenty-two of their number defeated Major Denny's force at the River Canard, and the entire band took a distinguished part in all subsequent engagements.

Dickson with one hundred and thirty warriors, Sioux, Winnebagoes, and Menomonees, reached Mackinac about the first of July. There were very few Canadians there then. On the ninth, an express arrived from General Brock announcing the declaration of war and advising an immediate attack on Mackinac. Captain Roberts instantly made a requisition on the agents of the Northwest Company, and nine days later a numerous party of their servants arrived from Fort William. In the meantime several of the principal Ottawa chiefs came in with their warriors, but when they were requested to co-operate they seemed very lukewarm and indifferent. On the other hand, Dickson's Indians were eager for the attack. Amable Chevalier, an Ottawa chief from the Lake of the Two Mountains, who had come to the upper country for the purpose of hunting, exerted all his influence among his tribesmen and finally persuaded them to accompany the expedition, although he secretly informed the British officers that he was still doubtful of their fidelity.

But it was undoubtedly to the assistance rendered by Dickson's band of Indians that the easy reduction of Mackinac was due, as the decided stand they took determined the course of the other tribes. The board of inquiry appointed to report upon his claims for compensation observed that "his influence over them was conspicuous and excited surprise, especially in restraining them from outrages and preventing any conflict between them, some nations being hereditary enemies."

Driven to an extremity by want, the Sacs applied to the commandant at Fort Madison for supplies upon credit, and being refused they followed on Dickson's path. He met them at Green Bay, loaded with the spoils of Mackinac. He selected Black Hawk as leader of the warriors of the allied nations. Placing a medal about his neck and giving

him a British flag, he despatched him to Detroit by way of Chicago, with five hundred followers. Black Hawk states in his autobiography that Dickson said that he "had been ordered to lay waste the country around St. Louis, but that he had been a trader on the Mississippi for many years, had always been kindly treated and could not consent to send brave men to murder women and children. There were no soldiers there to fight, but where he was going to send us there were a number of soldiers, and if we defeated them, the Mississippi country should be ours." As a matter of fact, Dickson had received no such orders, this being simply the method he adopted of turning them aside from their design of attacking the border settlements. However, Chicago and Detroit had fallen before these warriors arrived at those places, and they were obliged to return to their hunting-grounds without having accomplished anything.

In November, Dickson proceeded to Montreal to solicit compensation for himself and supplies for the Indians, bearing with him a letter of introduction from Capt. Glegg in which his services were briefly stated. A board of inquiry, composed of General De Rottenburg, Sir John Johnson, and four of the leading merchants connected with the fur trade, was appointed to consider his claims and proposals, and in accordance with their recommendations he was on January 1, 1813, appointed agent for the Indians west of the Mississippi at a salary of £200 per annum, and £1,875 was allowed him as compensation for goods already distributed by him among the Indians. Amable Chevalier was appointed to accompany him as lieutenant and chief interpreter, and he was permitted to select a staff of four other officers and fifteen interpreters. Green Bay and Chicago were selected as places of rendezvous and deposit for goods. His letter of instructions said: "The policy to be strictly observed in your conduct towards the different tribes should be to endeavor to conciliate them to act harmoniously, that you should restrain them by all means in your power from acts of cruelty and inhumanity, and en-

courage in them a disposition to form an alliance with their great father the king of England. That they should insist on all Americans, whether in arms or otherwise, that they retire behind the boundary line fixed by Wayne's treaty, and that no Americans can be allowed to remain on their side of the line without the risk of being treated as enemies except when they have been granted lands by treaties with the Indians, and it is to be clearly understood that the Indians only are to appear as movers in such proceedings." He was provided with six silk flags and five large medals with gorgets, to be given to the principal chief of each nation. He estimated that he would be able to bring at least one thousand warriors into the field, but that the period of action would be extremely limited, lasting only from the opening of navigation until about the beginning of August, when they would be obliged to prepare to return to their wintering grounds in the Northwest. All his proposals were actually adopted except one, which was to enlist a body of one or two hundred Englishmen and Canadians, then in the Indian country, to act as rangers in conjunction with the Indians.

Dickson certainly wasted little time in preparations for his mission. On the eighteenth of January he wrote to Capt. Noah Freer, Sir George Prevost's military secretary, that he would set out for the West on the following day. On the fifteenth of February he addressed a letter from Sandwich to the governor-general himself, informing him that he had arrived at Niagara on the fourth, and immediately proceeded onward towards Amherstburg in company with Capt John Norton, the well-known Mohawk chief, whom he met by appointment at the Grand River. On his way thither he had encountered a courier from General Proctor announcing the approach of General Harrison's army, and formed a select party of the Grand River Indians to follow him to Detroit, sending at the same time paroles to other tribes requiring them to assemble for the defence of that place with all possible haste. He announced his intention of departing for Chicago on the twenty-second of February,

and stated his intention of stationing canoes at different points along his route to forward despatches from Generals Proctor and Sheaffe.[1] Already since the battle at the River Raisin, many Indians had arrived at Proctor's headquarters, but disquieting intelligence soon came in from the West.

Early in February, Captain Roberts, the commandant at Mackinac, had received a letter from Joseph Porlier and other residents of Prairie du Chien stating that there were two hundred British subjects at that place and five thousand Indians in the neighborhood, and asking him for supplies to save them from starvation. They enclosed a letter received by the Indians from Nicholas Boilvin, the American Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, announcing the approach of a large American force and requiring them to join the United States without delay, threatening them with war without mercy in the event of their refusal. An urgent message from Wabasha (La Feuille) was forwarded at the same time, in which he said: "As a cloud is approaching over the heads of the children whom thou hast put under my care, and the Americans mean to take possession of this piece of land, I would wish to clear it but I want help. The whites send you news. I have talked with the Sacs, Outagamies and Winnebagoes and we have all but one heart."

Dickson was detained at Detroit, probably from delay in the forwarding of Indian goods, until the fourth of March. His next letter was dated at St. Josephs on the sixteenth of that month. Since his arrival there he had held a council with the Pottawattomies of that place, who had agreed to join the Shawnees, Kickapoos and Delawares and proceed to Detroit. He found that the Americans had burnt the village of Peoria and deported the French inhabitants to St. Louis and destroyed all the cornfields of the Indians in its vicinity. This obliged him to make arrangements for supplying them with food. On the twenty-second he wrote to General Sheaffe from Chicago informing him that the Indians of the Wabash were marching on Detroit, and that

[1] Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, major-general in the British army. For Proctor, see *ante*, p. 108, *note* 2.— Ed.

he had discovered two small brass cannons belonging to the former garrison of that place, which he would send to Mackinac. The next day he plunged into the unknown country beyond, and disappeared from sight for nearly three months. McAffee states that he visited during that time all the tribes on the Illinois and Mississippi, from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, and held a great council at Chicago in June, which was attended by a thousand warriors. "He proved his loyalty and deserved well of his employers by his great zeal, industry, and address in this service," is his comment.

One body of Indians despatched by him and led by Black Hawk arrived at Detroit in time to take part in the first siege of Fort Meigs, but no direct message from Dickson himself was received until he actually emerged again from the wilderness. General Proctor's correspondence contains several references to this prolonged and mysterious silence, and as late as the nineteenth of June he expresses much anxiety for his fate. In the meantime John Askin, Robert Livingston, and others were busy on the north shore of Lakes Huron and Superior in a similar way. On the third of June, Askin wrote to Colonel Claus, the deputy-superintendent at Niagara, that Dickson had not arrived nor had any intelligence been received from him, but that he would find canoes prepared for him when he came. Askin was then employed in sending off Indians to Detroit as fast as they arrived at Mackinac. Two hundred Ottawas had already gone and other parties were leaving every day. The Missassaugas and La Cloche Indians had been despatched by him to Niagara early in the spring. The Lake Superior Indians were daily expected. "Every Indian," he remarked, "that can bear arms on Lake Michigan and Huron, from Saginaw Bay to Matchedash, will exert himself to drive away the Americans."

Others, however, took a much less sanguine view of their disposition. Lieut.-Colonel De Boucherville, who visited Mackinac and other western posts on a confidential mission toward the close of May, informed Prevost that "the confi-

dence to be placed in the Indians is very precarious; the least failure dismays them." Dickson had not been heard from since the twenty-second of March. The Indians upon the upper Mississippi had been at war with each other during the autumn, and it was reported that General Clark was about to ascend the river with two thousand men to attack them in their villages. Half of the Sacs had already joined the Americans before Dickson arrived. Early in the spring, Captain Roberts had sent several boats loaded with provisions and stores for him to Green Bay, but had heard nothing from them since their departure.

Proctor had already more Indians hanging upon him than he could feed. They brought their families with them, and were unemployed and half-starved. Proctor said that if they had not been "very warm in the cause" they would have deserted him. He made a feeble attempt to relieve the strain on his supplies, by sending about two hundred of them to join General Vincent on the Niagara.

On the tenth of June, Dickson finally arrived at Mackinac, bringing with him more than six hundred chosen warriors.[1] Eight hundred more had been despatched by land from Chicago to Detroit. This force must have comprised nearly the entire fighting strength of the tribes residing in the present states of Illinois and Wisconsin, besides many from beyond the Mississippi. The causes of his prolonged absence are nowhere explicitly stated. At Mackinac he was detained for two weeks by foul weather and consequently did not arrive at Detroit until the second week in July. Scarcely a month then remained for action, before the date fixed for the return of these Indians to their homes. The accession of this following really added to Proctor's embarrassments. His regular force did not exceed five hundred men. He dared not summon the Canadian militia from the task of securing their harvests, upon which the future success of his operations so greatly depended.

[1] Chippewas, 116; Menomonees, 220; Ottawas, 42; Sioux, 97; Foxes and Renards, 18; Winnebagoes or Puants, 130.— AUTHOR.

The month passed away in enforced idleness, and still the promised reinforcement of regulars did not arrive. By that time the Indian warriors assembled at Detroit, almost three thousand in number, were on the brink of starvation. Early in August, Proctor was actually forced by their necessities, against his better judgment, to undertake a forward movement in the hope of supplying them at his opponent's expense. He soon found that his operations would be regulated by their "caprices and prejudices," as the regular force he took with him numbered only about one-tenth of the whole. For a few days after Dickson's arrival, his Indians proved "restrainable and tractable to an unexpected degree, but were afterwards contaminated," and became as lawless as the others. Accordingly, after having invested Fort Meigs for a few days, they began to desert and return to Detroit in such numbers that when the blockade was abandoned only about two hundred of Elliott's and a few of Dickson's Indians remained. Proctor then moved against Fort Stephenson, where he met with a bloody repulse. The Indians offered on this occasion to storm one face of the fort while the British troops assailed the other, but they had scarcely come within range of the fire of the besieged before they ran away in dismay. This disastrous experience convinced the British general that the Indian force is "seldom a disposable one and never to be relied on in time of need."

Although his levies had proved of little service, Proctor spoke officially of their energetic leader as, "Mr. Robert Dickson, to whose zeal and ability, which from circumstances have not had full scope, I must offer full testimony," and despatched him on a confidential mission to the governor-general, whose headquarters were then at Kingston.

Black Hawk and many of the western warriors returned home within a few days, being tired of the service and anxious to make the most of the approaching hunting-season, but a great number still remained. The total number of mouths to be fed actually numbered about five times

the fighting strength. The depredations and ravages they committed were indescribable. They had become a source of weakness rather than strength. On the sixth of August the deputy-commissary at Amherstburg wrote as follows to Edward Couche, the commissary-general for the province of Upper Canada: "If the Indians remain and continue their wanton and extensive depredations on cattle, a short period will put an end to our supplies. I have accounts amounting to £2,000 for working oxen, milch cows, sheep, and hogs killed by them, and expect accounts for as much more. Some of these have been killed without any meat having been taken from them; in other instances the horns and tails were cut off and the carcasses left to the dogs. I could easily have supplied provisions for 2,000 troops in conformity with your letter of the 18th of July. Since then I have been feeding 15,000 troops, Indians, &c. I find such difficulty in procuring flour, corn, etc. to feed such hordes of savages and money to pay for it that I have more than I can do."

At this time no less than fourteen thousand rations were daily issued to the Indians and their families alone, and there remained flour in store sufficient only to last fourteen days at that rate of consumption. When at length General Proctor determined to retreat, the Pottawattomies, Miamies, Chippewas, and part of the Ottawas deserted him and re-crossed the Detroit. Some of these tribes immediately made peace with the United States and agreed to strike the British. Two officers of the Indian department, Chadronet and Kinzie, were apprehended in a treasonable correspondence. No Wisconsin Indians accompanied the British force, and Dickson himself went westward about the time of its departure from Amherstburg. On the fourteenth of September he was at Niagara, on the twenty-sixth at Kingston, and on the twenty-second of October he again arrived at Mackinac, having returned by the way of York and Matchedash after a stormy voyage of twenty days on Lake Huron. The "Nancy," a vessel belonging to the Northwest Company, which had been sent down for supplies, had come in the

day before without any, having been attacked in the River St. Clair by a party of Michigan militia, and bringing information of Proctor's disastrous defeat. The garrison of the place had only sixty-eight pounds of salt pork, and flour for one month, in store, and Capt. Bullock, who had succeeded Roberts in command, at once sent an agent to Green Bay and other neighboring settlements to purchase all the provisions he could find. In this service he was materially assisted by Dickson and his lieutenants, Louis Grignon and John Lawe. In a short time sufficient supplies were procured to maintain the garrison until the following February.[1]

On October 23rd, Dickson informed Capt. Freer that he found on his arrival that Mr. McKay had everything in readiness for his departure for the Mississippi, where he would probably remain all winter.[2] He received an ample and excellent assortment of Indian goods. On the same day Bullock wrote that he had detached one subaltern, one sergeant, and twenty-six rank and file in six boats, with Mr. Dickson, to establish a post at La Baye, eighty leagues away. On the thirteenth of November, Dickson was at Lake Winnebago, where he appears to have remained with little interruption until the following April.[3]

His approach had not remained unheralded. During the summer, rumors were current at St. Louis of his intention to return to the Mississippi with cannon, and that he had promised to lead the Indians against that frontier the next summer, and "long quarters in Fort Madison." Much alarm prevailed in consequence, and General Howard advanced with about a thousand men to Peoria, where he built a fort to overawe the neighboring tribes.[4] The British traders on the Illinois and the south shore of Lake Michigan were seized and imprisoned. The Pottawattomies had long been

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[1] See correspondence between Dickson, Lawe and Grignon, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 274 *et seq.*— Ed.

[2] See *ante*, p. 111.— Ed.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 276.— Ed.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 263, *note.*— Ed.

suspected by Dickson, and their hostility to the British now became open and avowed. His instructions to his officers during his absence had been simply to keep the Indians quiet, and he apparently experienced much difficulty during the winter in regaining his lost influence over some of the tribes. The Menomonees and Winnebagoes, however, were as warmly attached to him as ever, and formed a sort of body-guard upon which he could securely depend. The letters printed in volumes x. and xi. of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* show that for some time he was in serious apprehension of an attack from the Pottawattomies. The old feud between the Chippewas and the Sioux burst once more into open hostilities and bloodshed. Numbers of the Indians near the Mississippi had already made their peace with the Americans, and those who still remained faithful to their compact with him were destitute and starving. For some time he himself seems to have been in actual fear of perishing from hunger. His correspondence in the midst of these dangers and difficulties shows no sign of despondence and he continued to predict that they would have good news when the Montreal express came in. The good news did not reach him until the twentieth of March, but then it must have exceeded his utmost expectations, for the gazettes sent him contained information of the surprise of Fort Niagara and the destruction of Buffalo, of the battle of Chrysler's Farm, of the signal defeat of Napoleon at Dresden, and of the capture of the fortress of Pampeluna and San Sebastian by the Duke of Wellington. At the same time he learned that a reinforcement for the garrison of Mackinac was on its way, but that an expedition against that post was said to be fitting out at Detroit. Accordingly he began to collect the Menomonees and Winnebagoes for its relief, rather regretting at the same time that this prevented him from attempting a dash at St. Louis. During the last week in April he made a flying visit to Prairie du Chien, and then immediately proceeded to Mackinac with all the Indians he could muster.

Early in December, 1813, a detachment from Detroit had

advanced on St. Joseph's, made prisoners six employees of the Northwest Company, and destroyed the storehouses. In reporting this event to Governor Edwards, Col. Butler remarked that he had learned that Dickson had gone to Green Bay the autumn before, with five boats loaded with goods for the Indians. He had then ascended the Fox River as far as practicable, when the merchandise was landed and loaded upon pack-horses, and he had proceeded into the interior, exciting the Menomonees and Winnebagoes to make war. Agents had been sent by him to the Kickapoos with promises that the Sacs and Sioux would unite with them. "He is said to possess as much influence over the Winnebagoes as he does over the Sioux."

A few weeks after, Edwards writes that the Indians had recommenced hostilities, and affirms his belief that Dickson was preparing for a descent on St. Louis. As late as the fourteenth of May, 1814, *Niles' Register* mentions that great alarm prevailed at that place in apprehension of an attack by him. The same newspaper published a list of persons residing in the western parts of the United States who had joined the British. This contained the names of Robert Dickson, James Aird, Duncan Graham, Francis Boutellier, Edward La Guthrie and Michael Brisbois of Prairie du Chien; Jacob Franks and the brothers Grignon of Green Bay, Joseph La Croix and ——— Le Sellier of Milwaukee, Joseph Bailly and his cousin ——— Benoit of St. Joseph's, Michael La Croix, Louis Buisson, and Louis Benet of Peoria.

During the winter, delegates from several western nations visited Quebec and were warmly welcomed by Sir George Prevost. The Sioux were represented by Wabasha and Little Crow, the Menomonees by Tomah, and the Winnebagoes by Lassammic. Wabasha said: "We have the good fortune to have the Red Head [Dickson] for a friend, who in spite of the barriers which the Americans have made, always found a passage to come and save the Indians from perishing;" and Tomah spoke of Dickson's "courage and good heart which made him proceed in spite of the lateness of the season and its severity, and arrive with the

goods destined for us, which saved our lives as well as many other nations."

In May, Fort Gratiot was built and garrisoned for the purpose of overawing the Indians of Michigan and cutting off all communication betwixt them and the garrison of Mackinac, and an expedition from St. Louis under Governor Clark ascended the Mississippi and took possession of Prairie du Chien. Capt. Francis Michael Dease, who held the place for Dickson, with a few men of the Michigan Fencibles, retired on its approach without firing a shot, and the Sacs sued for peace. Dickson had set out for Mackinac three weeks before, taking with him eighty-five Winnebagoes, one hundred and twenty Menomonees, and one hundred Sioux.

On the eighteenth of May, Lieut. Colonel Robert McDouall arrived at Mackinac with two weak companies of the Royal Newfoundland, ten artillerymen, and a few sailors, and assumed command of the garrison. Dickson soon after came in with two hundred Indians and established his headquarters there as "Agent and Superintendent of the Indians on the Mississippi." Tidings of the capture of Prairie du Chien soon reached them, accompanied by most urgent appeals for support from the Indians in its vicinity, and within a week a small but well-equipped expedition was sent off under Lieut.-Colonel McKay, a partner in the Northwest Company, for its recovery. About one-half of the Indians assembled on the island were detached by Dickson on this service, and when the American squadron finally hove in sight only a hundred and forty remained to share in its defense. In the operations which resulted in the repulse of Colonel Croghan's expedition, he took a distinguished part, and the assault of a band of Menomonees led by Tomah under Dickson's direction, decided the fate of the day. On the third of September following, he participated in the successful attack upon the schooner "Tigress" by a division of boats despatched from the island under Lieutenant Worsley. The last event terminated the blockade of the island, which had continued for more than a month, and virtually concluded the war in that quarter.

In the autumn, Dickson again proceeded to Prairie du Chien and spent the winter in the vicinity, organizing the Indians for the defense of that place and a prospective attempt upon St. Louis. In the spring of 1815 he returned to Mackinac, but soon after his arrival quarreled with Colonel McDouall, who arbitrarily superseded him in his employment and dismissed him from the service.

After the conclusion of peace he continued to trade in the Northwest for some years longer. In 1823, however, his family was enumerated as residing in the township of Willoughby near the present village of Chippawa, Ontario. He is said to have returned soon afterwards to Scotland, where he ended his days.

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

The following "Roster of Employees of the American to the Society by Captain Dwight H. Kelton, U. S. A., who preserved at Mackinaw Island. See, in this connection, pp. 370 *et seq.*

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
Aug. 31, 1819...	Aimar, Pierre.....	1 yr...	Boatman.....	Mackinac.....
.....	Aird, James.....	.....	.....	.....
March 16, 1818..	Albert, François.....	3 yrs..	Blacksmith.....	Montreal.....
April 4, 1818....	Allar, Jean Bt.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
March 19, 1818..	Allen, Jean Bt.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
.....	Arelle, Antoine.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
April 3, 1818....	Ashman, S.....	5 yrs..	Clerk.....	Montreal.....
.....	Baritte, Pierre.....	.....	.....	.....
July, 1819.....	Barte, Jean Bt.....	1 yr...	.....	Mackinac.....
.....	Bayargent, Joseph.....	.....	Not in employ..	.....
Dec., 1816	Beauchemin, Jean Bt...	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
July 9, 1818....	Beaudrie, Augustin.....	1 yr...	Boatman.....	Mackinac.....
March 31, 1818..	Beaulieu, François.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
July 24, 1818....	Beaulieu, Bazal.....	1 yr...	Interpreter.....	Mackinac.....
July 24, 1818 ...	Beaulieu, Paul	1 yr...	Interpreter.....	Mackinac.....
March 28, 1818..	Beaulieu, David.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
June, 1818.....	Beudrin, Alexis.....	1 yr...	Boatman.....	Lac du Flambeau..
Feb. 25, 1819. ..	Beunoit, François.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
July 10, 1818....	Benoit, François.....	1 yr...	Boatman.....	Mackinac.....
Jan. 30, 1818....	Berair, Louis.....	1 yr...	Boatman.....	Mackinac.....
Jan. 10, 1816....	Berçier, Jean Bt.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
Feb. 25, 1819....	Berthaume, Alexis.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
.....	Berthaume, Joseph.....	.....	.....	.....
Jan. 11, 1816....	Berthaume, Thomas.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
July 27, 1818....	Bibeau, Louis.....	1 yr...	Interpreter.....	Mackinac.....
July 27, 1818....	Binette, Louis.....	1 yr...	Trader.....	Mackinac.....
.....	Bizayon, Pierre.....	.....	.....	.....
June, 1818.....	Blondeau, Maurice.....	2 yrs..	Trader.....	St. Louis.....

EMPLOYEES—1818-19.

Fur Company for the years 1818 and 1819" was presented copied them in May, 1884, from the books of the Company "American Fur Company Invoices, 1821–22," in vol. xi.,

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
$900	....	St. Joseph's.
.....	Prairie du Chien ..	Deceased at Prairie du Chien, Feb. 27, 1819.
300	Mackinac.	Blacksmith at Mackinac.
900	Prairie du Chien....	Upper Mississippi.
600	Mississaga...	Enlisted.
600	Ance.....	Ance Quivinan; $900; July 6.
140	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac.
.....	Prairie du Chien....	Discharged.
900	....	Lower Mississippi.
.....	Prairie du Chien....	Discharged.
1st $500 2 last $600 1,100	Lower Mississippi.. Lac du Flambeau ..	Lower Mississippi; $600. Discharged.
600	Grand River	Grand River.
3,000	Lac du Flambeau ..	Discharged July, 1819; lost his wages.
2,400	Lac du Flambeau ..	Discharged 1819.
700	Lac du Flambeau ..	Fond du Lac; $700.
1,200	Lac du Flambeau ..	
600	.....	Fond du Lac.
1,100	Fond du Lac	Disch'g'd; re-engaged Lac du Flambeau $1100, July 12.
800	Lower Mississippi..	Discharged July, 1819; gone to Montreal.
last yr 800	Lower Mississippi..	Discharged July, 1819; gone to Montreal.
500	....	Upper Mississippi.
600	Illinois River.....	Illinois River; $800; July 2nd.
500	Illinois River.....	Engaged to La Perche.
3,000	Illinois River.....	Discharged; re-engaged Illinois River, 13 July.
3,000	Illinois River.....	Discharged; re-engaged Illinois River, 13 July.
.....	Mississaga.....	Discharged.
1,500	Lower Mississippi..	Remained Inland. Lower Mississippi; $1300.

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
May 4, 1818.....	Blondin, Jean.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal .....
....	Bonga, Pierre.....	No	engagement	1818.....
May 17, 1819 ...	Bornai, Louis.....	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.. .. ..
Feb. 10, 1819....	Bouche, Bazil.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
.....	Boucher, François, Sr....	.....	Free at	Fond du Lac..... .
....	Boucher, François, Jr....	.....	Gone.....	.....
... .	Boucher, Touissant.....	No	engagement	1818. .....
Sept. 1, 1818....	Bourassa, Alexander....	1 yr...	Clerk, &c.....	Mackinac.....
Sept. 1, 1818....	Bourassa, Leon.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Sept. 1, 1818....	Bourassa, Eloy.....	1 yr...	Trader.....	Mackinac..... ....
June 20, 1819 ...	Bourdeau, Pierre	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
April 29, 1817...	Bourdeaux, François.....	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal..... ...
July 11, 1817....	Bourdinon, Paul.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
March 24, 1818..	Bouthillier, Pierre	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
June 18, 1818....	Brebant, Alexis	1 yr...	Boatman	Fond du Lac.....
Jan. 16, 1816....	Brouillard, Joseph	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
Dec. 5, 1816.....	Brousseau, Pierre... ...	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
.....	Brunelle, Louis.....	....	Boatman	... .
July 8, 1818....	Brunets, François.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac..... ...
.....	Buisson, Louis.....	No	engagement	1818. .....
July 27, 1818....	Cadieu, Amable	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
....	Cadieu, Michel	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
July 9, 1819.....	Cadotte, Jean Bt..... ...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
.....	Campbell, Duncan.... ...	.....	.....	....
May 3, 1819.....	Campbell, Scott...	1 yr...	....	....
June 13, 1818 ...	Cardinal, Joseph.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.	Nadawasaga.....
June 16, 1818 ...	Chantiloux, Louis.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Fond du Lac.....
March 31, 1818..	Chapeau, Solomon	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
July 24, 1818....	Charette, Simon.....	1 yr...	Interpreter	Mackina .....
July 24, 1818....	Charette Mad. (wife).....	1 yr. .	Trader..... ..	Mackinac..... ...
Dec. 27, 1816....	Charland, Germain.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Feb. 10, 1819....	Charlebois, André.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ... .
March 6, 1819...	Charpantier, Antoine.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
March 6, 1819...	Charpantier, Joseph.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
March 21, 1818..	Charpantier, Joseph.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
June 30, 1819 ..	Chenier, Ignace	1 yr...	Clerk	Mackinac... .....
.....	Chevallier, Jean Bt.....	... .	....	....
... .	Chevallier, Pierre	Engaged in interior for trip to		

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
600	Fond du Lac.....	To Porlier.
....	Fond du Lac.... ...	Gone.
600	....	
500	....	Milliwaki.
.....	Fond du Lac.....	Free; not returned; to be employed at Fond du Lac.
.....	Fond du Lac.....	Gone.
900	Fond du Lac.	Engaged for 1819; Fond du Lac, June 19.
1,500	Lacloche	Lake Huron; $2,000; June 26.
1,000	Lacloche	Lake Huron; $3,000; June 26.
3,000	Lacloche	Lake Huron; $3,000; June 26.
1,000	... .	For River St. Peters, 1819; Upper Mississippi; $1,000.
600	Lower Mississippi..	Remained inland; Re-eng., 1819, 1 yr. $900; Lower Mississippi, 25 May.
700	Lac du Flambeau...	Lac du Flambeau.
650	Mississaga	Lacloche.
1,100	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac; $1,100; June 18.
600	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac; $800; June 29.
1st. yr. 500 2 last 600	Lower Mississippi...	Lower Mississippi; $600.
.....	.....	Fond du Lac; $1,100; July 2.
1,000	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $1,000; July 6.
3,000	Illinois River.....	Discharged; re-engaged; Illinois River, 13 July.
700	Illinois River.....	Discharged.
500	Wabash, etc.....	Deserted on his way from Wabash.
1,000	.....	Ance Quivinan.
....	Prairie du Chien....	Re-engaged, Upper Mississippi, $3,000, May 3.
....	. ...	Upper Mississippi; $2,400.
500	Illinois River.... ...	
800	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $200; June 16.
600	Lacloche	Deserted from Mr. Varin at Nadawasaga, Aug. 18.
3,000	Lac du Flambeau ..	Lac du Flambeau; $3,000; July 3.
1,200	Lac du Flambeau...	Lac du Flambeau.
500 2 last 600	Folleavoine.....	Ance Quiwinan.
500	. .....	Lower Mississippi.
600	.....	Lower Mississippi.
600	.. ..	With Laperche.
400	....	Lacloche.
1,800	.....	For 1819, 1 yr, Fond du Lac; eng. by W. Morrison, $1,800.
.....	Mississaga.....	Discharged.
....	Mackinac.....	

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
Jan. 8, 1817	Christy, Philip	3 yrs	Boatman	Montreal
July 29, 1818	Clairmont, Jeremie	1 yr	Interpreter	Mackinac
Aug. 15, 1818	Clements, Laurent	1 yr	Boatman	St. Mary's
July 18, 1818	Cloutier, Jean Bt	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
July 29, 1818	Come, Theodore	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
	Comptois, Etienne			
March 20, 1818	Cook, James	5 yrs	Clerk	Montreal
July 20, 1818	Corbin, Jean Bt	1 yr	Clerk	Mackinac
Feb. 25, 1819	Coteau de Nicolas	3 yrs	Boatman	Montreal
	Cotte, Joseph			
April 15, 1818	Cotte, Etienne	3 yrs	Boatman	Montreal
April 15, 1818	Cotte, Pierre	No engagement 1818.		
July 27, 1818	Coune, Pierre	1 yr	Interpreter	Mackinac
Jan. 8, 1816	Courchene, Michel	3 yrs	Boatman	Montreal
June 16, 1818	Courtoreille, Michel	1 yr	Hunter	Mackinac
Aug. 3, 1818	Cousineau, Joseph	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
June 23, 1819	Dabin, Antoine			
July 18, 1818	Daunai, Pierre	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
Aug. 9, 1819	Davis, John H	1 yr	Interpreter	Mackinac
April 7, 1819	Dechenaux, Joseph C	2 yrs	Clerk	Montreal
March 6, 1819	Decheneau, Louis	3 yrs	Boatman	Montreal
June 29, 1819	Denau, Joseph			
July, 1818	Denau, Constant	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
Sept. 2, 1818	Deschamps, Antoine	1 yr	Clerk	Mackinac
July 29, 1818	Deschamps, Joseph	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
June 23, 1819	Desormier, Jean Bt	1 yr		
June, 1818	Doant, Etienne	1 yr	Clerk or trader.	St. Louis
July 10, 1818	Dodge, James	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
	Doriou, Sr		Not in employ	
	Dorion, Battis Jr		Not in employ	
Aug. 11, 1818	Dubois, Luc	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
July 24, 1818	Duchene, Jos. Jr	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
July 24, 1818	Duchene, Jos. Sr	1 yr	Interpreter	Mackinac
July 29, 1819	Dufauet, Jos	1 yr	Boatman	St. Mary's
July 9, 1818	Dufaust, Louis	1 yr	Interpreter	Mackinac
Sept. 2, 1818	Dufrene, Philip	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
Aug. 13, 1819	Dulude, Antoine	1 yr	Boatman	Mackinac
April 21, 1818	Duplain, Louis	3 yrs	Boatman	Montreal

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
300 and 200	Illinois River.... ..	Discharged.
500	Mackinac.....	Mackinac; in kitchen.§
2,000	Wabash, etc.....	Kinkikie; $2,000; July 13, 1819.
1,200	Fond du Lac	Discharged.
1,200	Illinois River.....	Discharged.
1,000	Illinois River.....	Discharged; engaged to August; $1,000; Illinois.
700	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $700; June 1.
150	Lac du Flambeau ..	Discharged.
3,600	Lac Courtoreille....	Lac Courtoreille.
500	....	Fond du Lac.
.. ..	....	Fond du Lac; $1,000; June 30th.
600	Lower Mississippi..	Lower Mississippi; $600.
2,400 per yr	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $2,400.
3,000	Illinois River.....	Discharged.
600 per yr.	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $1,000; July 1.
600	Fond du Lac	Discharged; re-engaged Fond du Lac, $600.
1,000	Prairie du Chien....	Discharged.
.....	... .	Upper Mississippi; $1,000.
1,000	Illinois River.... ..	Discharged; engaged to August, $1,000, Delaunais, Ill.
1,200	..... .	Wabash and St. Joseph's.
4,200	....	Lake Huron.
550	.....	Given to Hamelin.
.....	..... .	Upper Mississippi; $1,000.
1,200 per yr	Lower Mississippi..	Discharged; gone to Montreal.
.....	Illinois River.....	Illinois River.
$1,000	Illinois River.....	Discharged; eng. to August, $900, Illinois.
....	....	Upper Mississippi, $900.
300 per yr.	Lower Mississippi..	Engaged for 1819 with R. Farnham, @$2,280. 1 yr., 2 June.
900 per yr.	Fond du Lac.... ...	Discharged.
....	Prairie du Chien....	
.. ..	Prairie du Chien....	Upper Mississippi; $900; July 2nd.
500	Grand River.....	Discharged; re-eng., Grand River, $1.000, July 1.
1,500	Folleavoine.....	Folleavoine.
2,400	Folleavoine..... ...	Folleavoine.
1,500	.....	Lac du Flambeau.
2,400 per yr.	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $2,400; July 6.
800	Masquignon	Discharged; re-engaged, 18 July, $1,000, Grand river.
1,000	.....	Lake Huron.
700	Mackinac.....	

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
April 7, 1818....	Dupuis, Joseph...	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
July 24, 1818 ...	Durant, Bazil.	1 yr...	Interpreter	Mackinac.....
Jan. 10, 1817....	Durocher, André.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
April 29, 1818...	Dyde, John..... ..	5 yrs..	Clerk.....	Montreal .....
July 18, 1818...	Ebert, Jacques.....	1 yr...	Boatman.....	Mackinac .....
May 6, 1818.....	Faille, Louis.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac .....
April 13, 1818...	Fainsworth, Wm.....	5 yrs..	Clerk..... ...	Montreal .. ..
April 7, 1818....	Fairbanks, John H.....	5 yrs..	Clerk..... ..	Montreal .....
....	Fallstraw, Jacob.....	.....	....	.. ..
.....	Farnham, Russell.....	... ...	....	....
March 21, 1818..	Fairveau, Simon.....	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal.....
May 22, 1819....	Felix, Antoine.	1 yr...	.....	.....
Feb. 25, 1819....	Fennai, Le François	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
July 13, 1818 ...	Fillion, Jean.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.... .....
June 17, 1818...	Flamand, Jean Bt.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Drum'd Island .....
June 24, 1819...	Foise, Louis.....	.....	.....	.....
1819.....	Frenier, François.....	1 yr...	Trader.....	Interior.....
.....	Gardipi, Joseph.....	.. ....	.....	....
Aug. 24, 1819...	Gauthier, Antoine.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
April 5, 1819....	Gauthier, Victoire.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
March 31, 1818..	Gendron, François.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
July 10, 1818....	Genereux, Louis.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
May 1, 1817. ...	Gerard, Augustin	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
July, 1818	Gervais, Amable	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.... .....
July 10, 1818.. .	Giere, Antoine.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac..... ..
.....	Ginereth, Joseph.....	. .....	Trader.....	Interior.....
July 12, 1819 ...	Goddin, Jean Bt..... ...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
June 26, 1819...	Goké, Antoine	.....	....	....
July 10, 1818....	Gosselin, Augustin... ...	2 yrs..	Boatman	Mackinac.....
....	Gosselin, André	... .. .	....	....
July 15, 1818....	Gosselin, Pierre.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 8, 1818.....	Goulais, Charles.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
March 31, 1818 ..	Goulais, Joseph..... ..	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ... .
Aug. 3, 1818	Gregoir, Alexis.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
June 13, 1818...	Grenier, François	2 yrs..	Boatman	Nadawasaga .....
April 7, 1819....	Grenier, Nicolas.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ... .
May, 1818.....	Hagerman, Tunis	1 yr...	Fisherman.....	Lac du Flambeau..
March 19, 1818..	Hawly, John G.....	5 yrs..	Clerk.....	Montreal .....
March 13, 1818..	Hawly, Samuel.....	5 yrs..	Clerk.....	Montreal .....

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
700	Fond du Lac	Mackinac.
2,000	Lac Courtoreille . .	Lac Courtoreille.
500	Mackinac	
160	Ance..... ..	Discharged.
1,100 pr. an.	Lac du Flambeau..	Discharged.
500	Lacloche	Lacloche; $500.
220	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac; $220. Discharged July 5.
220	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac.
.....	... .	Fond du Lac; $1,300. July 2.
....	Lower Mississippi..	
700	Illinois River.....	
....	.....	Upper Mississippi; $1,350.
500	....	Fond du Lac.
1,200	Illinois River.....	Illinois river; $1,300. July 6.
1,500	Lacloche	Discharged in H. W. employ.
... .	... .	Upper Mississippi. $900.
On shares	....	On shares with Mr. Lockwood; Upper Mississippi.
.....	....	Fond du Lac; $1,000; July 2d.
800	... .	Wabash & St. Joseph's.
500	... .	Fond du Lac.
600	Lower Mississippi..	Lower Mississippi; $600.
900	Grand River	Discharged; re-engaged, Grand river, $1,000, 21 July.
600	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac; $600.
900	Lower Mississippi..	Re-engaged with Mr. Farnham 1819 @ $1,000, from 29 June.
1,050	Ance.....	Drowned in Lake Superior.
1,800	....	Illinois.
1,000	.....	Fond du Lac.
....	... .	Upper Mississippi; $900.
1,100	Lac du Flambeau..	Lac du Flambeau; $1,100.
....	Mississaga.....	Absent at Mississaga. July 26 1 yr $900. Lower Mississippi.
1,000	Fond du Lac	Lac du Flambeau $1,100. July 3.
1,200	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac $1,800. June 1.
600	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac $600.
800	Prairie du Chien....	Upper Mississippi $900. June 24.
100 per yr.	Lacloche	
500	....	With Beaubien.
150	Lac du Flambeau ..	Lac du Flambeau, $1,000. July 2.
240	Prairie du Chien....	Discharged.
240	Lac Courtoreille....	Discharged.

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
April 30, 1819...	Hebert, Nicolas.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Feb. 25, 1819....	Herbert, Augustin	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
April 4, 1818....	Hogel, John F..... ..	5 yrs..	Clerk....	Montreal .....
July, 1818	Holliday, John.....	1 yr...	Trader.....	Mackinac.....
July 9, 1818. ...	Hotley, John..... ...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
April 28, 1818...	Hubbard, Gurdon S.....	5 yrs..	Clerk.	Montreal .....
April 16, 1818...	Hudon, Clement.....	3 yrs..	Boatman and Carpenter	Montreal .....
1816	Jalaine, Michel	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal ... .
April 2, 1818....	Janvier, Simon...	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
April 10, 1818...	Jaudoin, Antoine.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
.....	Jebon, Jean Bt...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
May 11, 1818....	Jenvine, Pascal	3 yrs .	Mason, &c	Montreal ....
June 7, 1818 ...	Kenzie, John Jr	5 yrs..	Clerk	Chicago . .....
Aug. 3, 1818	Kenzie, James	1 yr...	Clerk	Mackinac..... ...
Aug., 1818.....	Kinenigwin (Indian).....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Aug. 7, 1818	Labay, Charles.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July, 1819	Lacroix, Louis	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac..... ....
July 9, 1818.....	Ladebauche, Louis.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
July 18, 1819....	Ladebauche, Pierre.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac..... ...
May, 1818	Lafortune, Jean Bt.....	1 yr...	Interpreter	St. Joseph's .....
July 16, 1819....	Laframboise, Glaude.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Aug. 1818	Laframboise, Madame...	1 yr...	Trader.....	Mackinac.....
....	Lagard, Jean Bt. Senr ...	.....	... .	.....
July 23, 1818....	Lagarde, John Bt.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 9, 1818.....	Lalancet, Antoine	1 yr...	Clerk, &c.....	Mackinac.... ....
July 8, 1818.....	Lalande, Autoine...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
July 10, 1818....	La Mieux, François	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
May 7, 1818.....	Lamoreux, François.....	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Aug. 4, 1819	Landrie, Pierre..... ...	1 yr...	Boatman	.....
March 24, 1818..	Landry, Bellamy	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
July 24, 1818....	Lantier, Jaques	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
1816	La Perche, Joseph.....	.....	....	....
March 1, 1818...	La Pierre, Joseph	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
June 13, 1818 ...	La Pointe, Jean Bt.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Nadawasaga, deserted at St. Mary's, 1818
June 25, 1817 ...	La Pointe, Joseph.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
June 17, 1818 ...	La Raviere, Joseph.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Drummond Island..
Aug., 1818.....	La Riviere, Joseph.....	1 yr...	Boatman	St. Mary's.....
Sept. 25, 1818...	La Roche, Augustin.....	1 yr...	Interpreter.....	Illinois.....

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
500	... .	Lac du Flambeau.
500	.....	Lac du Flambeau.
180 per an.	Grand River	Lac du Flambeau.
600	Ance....	Ance Quivinan.
1,600	Lac Courtoreille....	Discharged; re-engaged, Lac Courtoreille, 20 July.
120	Illinois River.....	Illinois River.
2,100	Mackinac.....	At Mackinac; boat builder.
700	Grand River.....	Illinois River; $900; July 24.
600	Lac Courtoreille ...	Lac Courtoreille.
600	Fond du Lac	Deserted at St. Mary's, 1818.
900	....	Upper Mississippi.
900	Masquignon	Grand River.
.. ..	Mackinac.....	Mackinac.
3,000	. ...	Milliwakie.
300	Lac du Flambeau ..	Lac du Flambeau; discharged.
1,000	Wabash, etc.....	Discharged; re-engaged Aug. 6, $1,300, Kinkikee.
.. ..	....	Grand River.
1,200	Lac Courtoreille ...	Lac Courtoreille; $1,400; July 6.
1,000	. .. .	Upper Mississippi.
1,500	Wabash, etc.....	Discharged; re-engaged Aug. 6, $1,300, Kinkikee.
1,000	....	Milliwakie.
500	Grand River...	Grand River; $3,000.
....	.. ..	Lac Courtoreille.
1,000 pr. an.	Fond du Lac	Lac Courtoreille; $1,000; July 12.
2,000	Lac du Flambeau..	Lac du Flambeau; $2,000; July 5.
900	Folleavoine.	Folleavoine; $900; July 6.
1,000	Folleavoine.....	Lac Courtoreille; $1,200; July 6.
600	Lac Courtoreille ...	Lac Courtoreille.
1,200	....	Illinois.
800	Fond du Lac	Ance Quivinan.
900	Prairie du chien....	Upper Mississippi; $900; June 24.
.....	Mackinac....	Discharged on his own account.
800	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $800.
....	Fond du Lac	Deserted.
$600 per a.	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $600.
650	Lacloche	Lacloche; $1,000.
1,200	Fond du Lac	Rem'd inland; engaged for 1819, at $1,200, June 12.
1,200 pr an., $275 summer wages.	Illinois River.....	Discharged.

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
July 16, 1819....	Lasly, Samuel....	1 yr...	Clerk.....	Mackinac.....
Sept. 2, 1818....	Lassallier, Pierre	1 yr...	Trader.....	Mackinac.....
May 11, 1818....	Laurence, Roderic	3 yrs..	Clerk.....	Montreal. .....
Aug. 29, 1818....	Laurent, Alex.....	1 yr...	Interpreter... .	Mackinac..... ..
Aug. 30, 1818....	Laurent, Pierre...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 11, 1818....	Lavalle, Alexis	1 yr...	Boatman.... ...	Mackinac.....
June 16, 1818 ...	Lavigne, François.....	1 yr..	Boatman	Drum'd Island.....
April 2, 1818....	Leclerc, Pierre..... .	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
... .	Le Clerc, Jean B.....	Not	engaged in	1818 and no wages..
July 29, 1818....	Le Compte, Alexis.... ...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Dec. 5, 1816.....	Lefort, Louis.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
1819..... ...	Le May, Jacques..	.....	Guide.....	Montreal.... .....
Dec. 27, 1816....	Le Roux, Louis...	3 yrs..	Boatman	Mackinac.....
March 25, 1818..	Lezier, Louis.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 23, 1818....	Lizotte, Joseph.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
Aug. 4, 1818	Lousignon, Pierre.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
* July, 1818....	Lozon, Joseph.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Aug. 18, 1818 ...	McGulpin, David.	1 yr...	Interpreter.. ...	Mackinac... .....
April 3, 1818....	McIntyre, James..... ...	3 yrs..	Tailor.....	Montreal. .....
.....	Macon, Joseph	.....	.....	....
... .	Mainville, François.....	..... .	....	.....
Jan., 1816.... ..	Mainville, Louis	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal. .....
July 2, 1819.....	Marchand, Jos.....	1 yr...	....	....
July 9, 1818. ..	Martin, Antoine.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
June 25, 1819...	Martin, Daniel	.....	Boatman	.....
July 30, 1818....	Martin, Louis	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac..... .....
May 26, 1818....	Massie, Antoine Mace....	1 yr...	Boatman	Lac des Sables . ...
July 15, 1818....	Massie, François.	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 8, 1818.....	Massie, Jean Bt	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 12, 1819....	Matthews, Chas..	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
June 24, 1819...	Mayatt, François.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
....	Mayeux, Michael....	.....	Deserted	.....
June, 1818.....	Mayrand, Jean Bt..... ..	1 yr...	Trader	Prairie du Chien ...
Feb. 10, 1819....	Menard, Pierre.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
1819.....	Metevier, Gabriel.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Interior .....
Aug. 7, 1818.....	Minard, Antoine.	1 yr...	Clerk	Mackinac... .....
Jan. 25, 1817 ...	Minard, Louis.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
May 11, 1818....	Monier, Leon.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....

* Joseph Lozon is now (May 24, 1884) living at Mackinac Island. He is 87 years old

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
1,800	.. ..	Wabash & St. Joseph's.
1,508	Masquignon	Discharged.
£50 Hlfx. currency.	Lac du Flambeau ..	Lac du Flambeau; discharged.
1,300	Wabash, etc.....	Wabash, etc., August 30, 1819; $2,000.
400	Wabash, etc... ...	Died on St. Joseph's River, 2 Feb., 1819.
800	Illinois River.....	Illinois River; $800; July 1.
800	Ance.....	Discharged.
600	Grand River.....	Given to Pensonneau.
900	Fond du Lac.....	Engaged in interior, Fond du Lac, for 1819, @ $900.
1,000	Illinois River.....	Lower Mississippi; $1,000; June 30.
500 2 last600	Folleavoine.... . ..	Folleavoine; $600.
400	....	To go and come; went in Berthelot's canoe, 9 July, 1819.
500 2 last600	Illinois River.....	Illinois River.
600	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $600.
600	Fond du Lac	Discharged.
800	Wabash, etc.....	Discharged.
900	Lower Mississippi..	Mackinac, $900, July 5.
600	Illinois River... ...	Discharged.
300	Mackinac.....	Mackinac.
700	Wabash, etc..... .	Deserted at Kinkikee, winter 1818-1819.
....	... .	Free man to be employed at Fond du Lac.
600	Lower Mississippi..	Discharged, gone to Montreal.
1,200	... .	Folleavoine; $1,200.
1,300	Fond du Lac... ...	Fond du Lac, $1,500, May 22.
....	....	Lake Huron; $1,050.
1,200	Illinois River... ...	Discharged.
1,200	Fond du Lac.....	Discharged.
1,000 pr. an.	Fond du Lac..:...	Fond du Lac, July 9, 1819.
1,200	Fond du Lac.....	Fond du Lac, $1,000, June 4.
900	... .	Upper Mississippi.
....	. . ..	Upper Mississippi; $900.
... .	Fond du Lac	Deserted.
500	Prairie du Chien....	Upper Mississippi; $3,000; June 30.
500	.....	With J. Laperche.
900	....	Upper Mississippi.
1,200	Wabash, etc.....	Re-engaged August 16; $1,500; St. Josephs & Wabash.
500	Prairie du Chien ...	Upper Mississippi; $1,000; June 30.
600	Lower Mississippi..	Lower Mississippi; $600.

(nearly 88) and his memory is still good in regard to the years these pages refer to.— D. H. K.

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
July 16, 1819....	Monsreau, Joseph	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
March 27, 1818..	Mooers, Hazen.....	5 yrs..	Clerk	Montreal ....
July 12, 1818 ...	Morrison, Wm	1 yr...	Interpreter	Mackinac.....
Dec., 1816.....	Nadeau, Jean Bt.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Aug. 7, 1818	Neumanville, Joseph.. .	1 yr...	Clerk	Mackinac.....
....	Neveu, Alexis	3 yrs..	Boatman...	Montreal .....
March 19, 1818..	Nicoll, Jean Maril..... ..	3 yrs..	Carpenter, etc..	Montreal .....
Sept. 25, 1818...	Oscom, Antoine	1 yr...	Interpreter	Chicago .....
.....	Pagé, Antoine dit charon	1 yr...	Interpreter	Mackinac.....
July 15, 1819 ...	Paleu, Joshua	1 yr...	Trader	Mackinac.....
July 8, 1818.....	Parisian, Jacques	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
.....	Peligord, Pierre..	.....	.....	....
April 7, 1818....	Pillon, Alexis	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
April 16, 1818...	Pillon, Joseph	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
May 25, 1819....	Pillon, Jacques.....	3 yrs..	Cooper	Montreal ....
Jan. 8, 1816.....	Petitverge, Gabriel.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
. .....	Piquette, Francois.....	.....	.....	.....
July 9, 1819.....	Piquette, Joseph.	... .	.....	Mackinac.....
April 2, 1818....	Pocheron, D. Joseph....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
March 21, 1818..	Poivier, Joseph	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
June 24, 1819 ...	Pombert, Louis...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
June 25, 1819 ...	Pouyotte, Nicholas.....	.....	....	....
April 5, 1819....	Prevost, Touissant.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal . .....
Aug. 4, 1818.....	Prout, Bazil dit Jean Bt..	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 7, 1819.....	Provost, Charles.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Round Island.....
July 8, 1818.....	Pruneaux, Charles.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... . ....
July, 1818.....	Prunier, Bazil....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
July 11, 1880...	Rabideaux, Jean Bt.... .	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
July 8, 1818....	Racette, Etienne	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac... .....
.....	Reaume, Alexis Luc.....	.....	Trader.....	Mackinac.....
Aug. 3, 1818	Relle, Constant	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
March 30, 1818..	Robert, François.	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Dec. 30, 1816....	Robinson, François	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
....	Roi, Joseph.....	... .	.....	.....
July 8, 1818.....	Roi, Jean Bt.....	1 yr...	Boatman and Interpreter	Mackinac.....
April 24, 1817...	Rolland, Jean Bt.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
July 10, 1818....	Rondeau, Pierre.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac .....
[illegible] 7, 18 18. ..	Roucelle, Laurent.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
1,000	....	River des Planes.
250	Prairie du Chien ...	Interior; Upper Mississippi.
1,000	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac.
700	Lower Mississippi..	Re-engaged with Mr. Farnham, 1819, 1 year, $1,000, 29 June.
2,000	Grand River.....	River des Planes.
600	Lac du Flambeau ..	Lac du Flambeau; $1,100; July 5.
900	Mackinac.....	Mackinac; carpenter.
1,200	Illinois River.....	Left at Chicago.
.....	.. ..	Aug. 16, 1819, $2,000, St. Josephs.
1,000	....	Lower Mississippi.
1,000	Ance	Fond du Lac; $1,000; July 4.
....	Mississaga.....	Gone to Montreal.
600	Prairie du Chien ...	
1,200	Prairie du Chien ...	Wabash, etc.
1,440	....	Mackinac; cooper.
600	Fond du Lac.	Fond du Lac; $1,000; July 1.
.....	....	Fond du Lac; $1,200; July 2.
800	....	Fond du Lac; $800.
600	Illinois River... ...	Illinois River.
650	Grand River	Grand River.
1,000	.....	Grand River; $1,000.
.....	Mississaga.....	Lake Huron; $650.
500	Drowned 24 May on	the way to Mackinac at Pt. du Plains.
800	Wabash, etc.	Discharged.
1,500 for 3 yrs.	.. ..	Upper Mississippi.
1,100	Lac du Flambeau ..	Ance Quivinan; $1,000; July 3.
900	Lower Mississippi..	Lower Mississippi; $1,000; June 30.
1,000	Lac Courtoreille ...	Folleavoine; $1,100; July 6.
1,000	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $900 July 3.
.....	Wabash, etc	Discharged.
800	Prairie du Chien....	Upper Mississippi; $900; July 1.
600	Ance	Lac Courtoreille; deserted July, 1819, at St. Mary's.
600	Lac du Flambeau .	Lac du Flambeau.
....	.....	Discharged at Drummond's Island.
1,200 per an	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $2,000; July 6.
1st yr. 500, 2 last 600.	Lacloche.....	Lacloche; $600.
1,000	Folleavoine.....	Folleavoine; $1,100; July 6.
700	Wabash, etc.....	Lower Mississippi.

When engaged.	Name.	Time.	Capacity.	Where engaged.
July 12, 1818....	Roussian, Eustache.....	1 yr...	Interpreter. ...	Mackinac.....
Jan. 6, 1816.....	Rousseau, Augustin...	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
April 6, 1818....	Rousseau, Joseph.....	2 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Aug., 1818.....	Saganaquoitte (Indian) ..	3 yrs..	Boatman	St. Mary's.....
Sept. 20, 1818...	St. Amant, André.....	1 yr..	Trader.....	Portage des Sioux..
March 25, 1818..	St. Arno, Edward.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
July 7, 1819.....	St. Germain, Leon.....	1 yr...	.....	Mackinac .....
June, 1818.....	Saucier, Antoine.....	1 yr..	Boatman	Fond du Lac.....
March 25, 1818..	Saunders, John.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal.....
July 25, 1818....	Schindler, Joseph	1 yr...	Assistant.....	Mackinac .....
.....	Seunet, Jean Bt..	.....	Mason	Montreal .....
April 29, 1818...	Sicard, Joseph.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
March 4, 1819...	Simoneau, François Ant..	3 yrs..	Boatman.....	Montreal .....
Aug. 1, 1819	Solomons, William	1 yr...	Boatman	.....
April 15, 1818...	Spencer, Garry....	3 yrs..	Tailor.....	Montreal .....
July 13, 1819....	Swanson, David.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Aug. 1, 1819	Sylvester, Jean Bt.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
April 1, 1818 ...	Sylvester, William	3 yrs..	Blacksmith.....	Montreal .....
July 23, 1819....	Taillis, Jean Bt.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac..... ...
.....	Terrien, François.....	.....	....	... ...
July, 1819.....	Trague, Battis.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
May 5, 1818.....	Turcotte, Pierre.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
Sept. 10, 1818...	Turpin, Amable..... ...	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
April 1, 1818....	Upham, Edward	5 yrs..	Clerk	Montreal ....
April 10, 1818...	Varin, Charles..... ...	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal ....
July 8, 1818.....	Vasseau, Jacques.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
Jan. 25, 1817....	Vasseur, Antoine	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
March 6, 1819...	Vidall, Antoine.....	3 yrs..	Boatman	Montreal .....
.....	Villemenne, Jean Bt.....	... .	....	....
June, 1818.....	Vincent, Benjamin... ...	1 yr ..	Boatman	Ance ....
March 24, 1818.	Wallace, Wm. H	5 yrs..	Clerk..... ...	Montreal .....
March 25, 1818..	Warner, Goodrich.... ...	5 yrs..	Clerk.....	Montreal ....
Aug., 1819.....	Willett, François.....	1 yr...	Boatman	Mackinac.....
1818.....	Wroth, Elisha.....	... .	.....	... .

Names of St. Jean's men. 1819 —
Thomas Berthaume.
Amable Cadrieu.
Pierre Menard.
Joseph Charpantier.
Jean Bt. Desjardin.

Wages.	Where employed.	Remarks.
800	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac.
600	Illinois Outfit	Lower Mississippi; $900; June 30th.
600	Lac Courtoreille	Lower Mississippi.
600	Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac; $600.
380	Lower Mississippi	Discharged by Farnham on Mississippi.
600	Lac du Flambeau	Lac du Flambeau.
2,400		Lac du Flambeau.
900 per an.	Fond du Lac	Re-engaged at Fond du Lac with W. Morrison, $900, 17 June, 1819.
500 per an.	Fond du Lac	Milliwaki; $500.
1,200	Grand River	Grand River, $1,600; June 26.
	Wisconsing.	With Rouse, 1818.
600	Wabash, etc	Wabash.
600		Wabash, etc.
		Lacloche.
240	Mackinac	Mackinac; Tailor.
800		Upper Mississippi.
900		Lacloche.
400	Mackinac	Mackinac: Blacksmith.
		Upper Mississippi; $900.
		Discharged; gone to Montreal.
		Upper Mississippi; $1,000; deserted July, 1819.
600	Fond du Lac	Given to P. Grignon.
1,350		Illinois River; July; $1,300.
1,200 for 5 yrs.	Wabash, etc	Discharged.
600	Lac Courtoreille	Lower Mississippi.
1,200	Fond du Lac	Discharged.
500	Mackinac	Wabash.
500		Given to Pensonneau, July 12, 1819.
	Lacloche	Discharged; gone to Montreal.
1,000	Ance	Discharged.
360 per an.	Wabash, etc	Wabash.
150 per an.	Fond du Lac	Ance Quivinan.
900		Lacloche.
	Grand River	Discharged.

Names of J. Bt. Beaubien's men. 1819 —
Louis Jacques.
Joseph Lapointe.
J. Bt. Webault.
J. Bt. Sicard.
Nicolas Greneir.

M'CALL'S JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO WISCONSIN IN 1830.

SKETCH OF JAMES M'CALL, BY ANSEL J. M'CALL.[1]

James McCall, the writer of the following Journal, was the son of Benajah McCall, of Lebanon Springs, Columbia county, N. Y., where he was born January 5, 1774. His father for many years kept the hotel there, but he sold it at the close of the Revolutionary War and agreed to receive in payment continental money. That currency proving worthless, he had nothing left after paying his debts, except an interest in a tract of land on the Delaware river, a few miles above the village of Walton, in the present county of Delaware, New York. It was then a trackless waste from the Hudson river to the Delaware. But, with the hardihood and will of our Revolutionary sires, he determined to make the venture of settlement. In the spring of 1783 he moved with his family to Breakabeen, Schoharie county, New York, took possession of a deserted Tory clearing and put in a crop to furnish temporary subsistence while preparing for a further push into the great wilderness. At the close of the winter of 1783-84 he left his camping ground for the Delaware. An ox sled bore his wife and effects, while his children trudged on foot. There was no road of any kind. There were only blazed trees to mark the way. The privation and suffering of a family

[1] Ansel James McCall, the writer of this sketch of James McCall, was the latter's nephew and for about twenty years surrogate of Steuben county, N. Y.; at the time of writing the sketch, February 5, 1890, he was secretary of the New York State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, at Bath. The late Rev. Absalom Miner, of Madison, Wisconsin, was a son-in-law of James McCall,—his daughter, Mrs. Marie Miner Richards, wife of Rev. Charles H. Richards, D. D., formerly of Madison, but now of Philadelphia, being the commissioner's granddaughter. Another granddaughter is Mrs. Augusta Searle Sheldon, of Chicago, my informant as to these facts.—Ed.

buried in the deep forests can hardly be conceived by one who has had no such experience. There were no highways, no bridges, no schools, no churches, no mills, no merchants. The narrow openings and wide forests supplied the isolated foresters with their sole subsistence.

The subject of this memoir was taken from school at the early age of nine years. The straitened circumstances of his father, and the lack of facilities, prevented him from obtaining any further education in his boyhood. His thirst for knowledge was, however, increased by his deprivation. As soon as he reached his majority, having obtained a reputation for integrity, he obtained the means upon his own responsibility to reach Connecticut and spend a winter at school. In that brief winter he mastered the common branches taught there, and acquired sufficient knowledge to do ordinary surveying. Immediately after he returned from Connecticut, he commenced lumbering, and in the spring of 1797 got in a raft which he ran down the Delaware river to Philadelphia. Having disposed of his logs, he started for Ohio, just then opened for settlement — the *ultima thule* of western emigration. He was engaged during the summer with the government surveyors, but being attacked with the then prevalent malarial fever, upon his recovery worked his way back to New York. In 1798 he removed with his brother to Ovid, Seneca county, that state. They purchased a tract of land on the western shore of Cayuga Lake, laid out a town, and established a ferry across the lake, known as Kidder's Ferry. December 19, 1799, he was married to Elizabeth Dye, and engaged in farming and merchandising. From 1808 to 1814 he represented Seneca county in the state legislature. In 1815 he removed with his family to Allegany county, then quite new. He there erected mills and opened a store for the accommodation of the settlers. In 1816 he was appointed judge of the Allegany county court. He represented Allegany and Steuben counties in the legislatures of 1818-19 and 1823; and in 1821 was a member of the state constitutional convention, from the same district. In 1824 he was elected senator from the Eighth senatorial district of the

state of New York and served for the full term of four years. In 1830 he was appointed by President Jackson a commissioner, with Gen. Erastus Root, of New York, and John T. Mason, of Kentucky, to settle the differences between the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and the New York Indians, with regard to their respective reservations. The following Journal was written while acting as such commissioner. He was appointed by Governor Marcy one of the judges of the court of common pleas of Allegany county. He resided in the town of Rushford, in that county, until his death, which occurred on the twenty-fourth of March, 1856.[1]

Notwithstanding he was much in public life, he never accumulated more than a narrow competence. He was a man of strong religious character but with enlarged and liberal views. Honest and upright in all his dealings, he commanded the entire confidence of the community in which he lived.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR.[2]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 9th June, 1830.

GENTLEMEN:—The 2nd Article of a Treaty made and concluded at the Butte des Morts on Fox river in the Territory of Michigan, between Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenney commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Chipewa and Menominie and Winnebago Indians,[3] provides that a refference of a difficulty, as set forth in said

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[1] In Turner's *History of the Holland Land Purchase* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1850), p. 536, is this reference: "The venerable Judge James McCall, the early merchant, who has been for a considerable period a state senator, and filled many other important public offices, may perhaps be regarded as the patroon of the village of Rushford; conspicuous in the various enterprises that have contributed to its prosperity, his life has been an exemplary and useful one. He still survives, having reached his 74th year. He has reared a family of thirteen children, twelve of whom are married and settled; and has in all, over forty living descendants."— ED.

[2] Copy found in McCall's Journal.— ED.

[3] Concluded August 11, 1827; proclaimed February 3, 1829.— ED.

Article between [the] Menominie and Winnebago and the New York Indians, shall be referred to the president of the United States, whose decision in regard to it shall be final. The difficulty referred to consists in disputes between the parties named, respecting the aledged Purchase and sale of Lands in the years 1821 & 1822. The New York Indians claim to have made bona fide purchases and the Menominee and Winnebagoes deny it, alleging, their intention to have been, only, to grant permission to their Brothers in New York to sit down among them. The Menominies and Winnebagoes, in the second Article of the Treaty aforesaid, having given the right to the President to decide upon this controversy, and the right also to establish such boundaries between them and the New York Indians, as he may consider equitable and just, and the President esteeming it proper to waive any decision upon the question of the validity of those compacts of 1821 and 1822, has determined to accomodate the New York Indians, under the privilege given to him to do so, by locating a country, and establishing boundaries between the parties as may be equitable and just. That you may know the country purported to have been bought in 1821 & 1822, I inclose herewith extracts from the articles of agreement made at those periods which define the aledged cession.

The controversy hitherto existing between those Indians, as to what was, or was not purchased and sold in 1821 & 1822, may be assumed as settled in the Treaty afforesaid, and in the authority vested in the President by the Menominies and Winnebagoes, to act as umpire in establishing boundaries between them.

With a view to the execution of the Trust referr[d] to him, in the 2nd article of the Treaty afforesaid, the President of the United States hereby appoints you joint commissioners, to repair to Green Bay and select a suitable country, within the limits of that claimed and owned by the Menominie and Winnebago Indians, and establish the boundaries of the same for the accommodation of the New York Indians. On your making the selection, and making to this department your report, with a map, or drawing of the country

which you may select, the President will approve or disapprove, as in his judgment he may esteem proper. If he approve, the limits that may be defined by you, will be, and remain the country, the right of, and title to which, will be in the New York Indians and their Posterity, and upon which they will be protected by the laws made, or which may be made, establishing intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and for preserving peace on the frontiers.

Two principle objects will present themselves to you, and these you will keep steadily in view. First — the providing a country, and a home for the New York Indians, that shall be acceptable to them, in extent, and soil, and wood, and water, &c. Second — In consulting the Views and feelings and condition of the Menominies and Winnebagoes, who have generously given the permission to do so. It will be important that you harmonize these interests. It is not possible to direct you where to fix the boundaries, or what location — or what Quantities of land to assign.

In regard to quantity, however, it may be proper to remark that Justice to the Winnebagoes and Menominees, and utillity to the New York Indians, require, that no more be taken from the first, and given to the last, than will subserve the interests, and promote the comfort and prosperity of the last. Indian Tribes in a hunter state, (and this is the state of [the] Winnebagoes and Menominies,) require large Tracts of country; whilst Tribes, whose condition is esentially agricultural, (and this is the condition of the New York Indians) require a less extensive domain — indeed, to transfer them from fixed, and reasonable agricultural limits, to boundless forests, or extensive ranges, is at once to reconvert them from agriculturists, to Hunters, and to undo all that instruction and necessity combined have accomplished to lift them from the hunter to the agricultural state. It will be important, therefore, in fixing on the quantity of land for the possession, and ownership of the New York Indians, to have an eye to this two fold principle of doing no injury to the hunters by trenching too extensively upon their domain, and of benefiting the agricultural party.

The Indians in the state of New York number it is believed, at this time, about 2,420 — and they claim about 131,640 acres of land, which is a little over 54 acres to each individual. This view is not given to govern you in limiting the New York Indians to a like Quantity at Green Bay -- for it would be proper, doubtless, to allow them a quantity fully adequate to all the demands which as an agricultural people, they ought to possess. But it would be proper in deciding upon the quantity, to guard against leading them by an over quantity, to give up their present state of improvement, and return again to the roaming and the hunter state. *This is particularly to be guarded against.* You can judge of the location and boundaries only, on a survey of the country, and on ascertaining the views, &c., of the parties interested in the subject. It is however of the highest importance, that boath parties should acquiesce, *so far as that may be possible* in the boundaries that may be established between them.

You are referred for the Topography of the country to the maps of the Michigan Territory; and for local information to such sources as may be developed on your arival at Green Bay, in your intercourse with those who may have the local information to impart.

I inclose herewith a copy of the Treaty above refered to, which contains the object of the Trust -- the execution of which is refered to you.

Your compensation will be at the rate of eight dollars (*per day or* [sic.]) for every twenty miles of Travel from and to your respective homes — the distance to be determined by the secretary of war; and eight dollars, for every day, you may be engaged in the discharge of the duties of this commission, after your arival at the seat of your operations, and this will be in full for your services.

You will be allowed a secretary whose compensation will be at the rate of five dollars a day for every twenty miles Travel; and five dollars a day while engaged at the seat of your operations.

The amount appropriated to carry this object into effect is five thousand dollars. This sum is in no case to be ex-

ceeded.[1] The ballance, after paying your accounts, and your secretary's and Interpreter, and a surveyor, and chain bearers, &c., should you find it necessary or expedient to employ them, you will distribute in usefull goods equally among the Menominie and Winnebago Indians.

It is probable that a few of the chiefs of both Tribes and also a few of those of the New York bands, may wish to attend you in your examinations, &c. If so, you will allow to each, not exceeding five, from the Menominie and Winnebago Tribes; and three from the New York Indians, now located at Green Bay, one dollar and fifty cents a day, to furnish them with supplies, &c. This will also form part of the cost, and be a charge against the appropriation of the $5,000 afforesaid.

You will in making up your accounts, state your accounts so as to show the number of miles traveled, and the number of days, you were engaged in the execution of the Trust and accompany them with the original bills of purchases of such goods as you may distribute, and add to the accounts your certificate of their correctness.

The amount of the appropriation will be placed to your credit in the Branch Bank in New York, subject to your joint or seperate orders as commissioners.

I have already called your attention to the great object of reconciling the Tribes concerned in the lands you are entrusted to set apart for the accommodation of the New York Indians. Your attention is again called to that subject. The great object to be obtained in this business is harmony. It would not be sound policy to introduce a new and strange tribe near to the Winnebagoes and Menominies if anything of heart burning shall be permitted to exist; strife would be the consequence, and the New York Indians would become so dissatisfied as to be detered from a removal.

It is matter of the first importance therefore, in regulating the quantity of land to be given them, and particularly in its *location* that you so arrange Matters as to preserve

[1] The report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Samuel S. Hamilton, dated Nov. 25, 1830, states, nevertheless, that the expedition cost $11,850.85.— Ed.

good and kind feelings amongst all the parties. The New York Indians are a weak and feeble Tribe — peacibly disposed, and incapable to contending in war with the powerful tribes on the lakes. It would be cruelty, in the government, to send them to a new home, where they would be under feelings of dissatisfaction, and be subjected to danger. Hence, before the President can give his sanction to any arrangement to be made by you he will require to be fully satisfied, that the important considerations here suggested, are certainly obtained; and to effect these, care and caution must be regarded.

Very Respectfully Gentlemen
Yr. Obt. Serv't.
JN. H. EATON.

To Genl. Erastus Root, James M'Call, Esqr, and J. T. Mason, Esqr, (of Kentucky), Commissioners, &c.

M'CALL'S JOURNAL.[1]

Rushford,[2] June 30, 1830. Rode to Warsaw — Fare &c 1.92

July 1. To Buffalo 44 miles making 74 miles Expenses..... 2.08

[1] Gen. Albert G. Ellis, of Stevens Point, wrote Dr. Lyman C. Draper as follows, Feb. 9, 1881: "In the Society's report for 1881, p. 23, I read something about a contribution of James McCall,— being the 'Journal of the commissioners appointed to locate a district of country near Green Bay, for the New York Indians,' &c. &c. I was present at this commission,— Erastus Root and Governor Mason being the other two commissioners, and a Mr. Hunt, of Detroit, Secretary. It would be a rich treat to me to see this Journal,— what coloring Mr. McCall gives that transaction. Hunt, the Secretary, dropped the thing at conclusion of the council,— left the Journal unpublished; and the fall after (I think it was), or perhaps a year after, on the way to Washington with S. C. Stambaugh and the Menomonees, I met Governor Mason, who had the papers of this commission in his possession — the report of their doings not yet made! Gov. Mason consulted me about the incomplete state of Hunt's Journal; and wished me to take it in hand and finish it up. With his help and criticisms I undertook

[2] Allegany county, New York.— ED.

July 2. Staid in Buffalo..... 5.12
11 o'clock P. M. Steam B[oat] H. Clay clear[d] for portland, Ohio..... 8.00
Expenses on board..... .25
4. Sundry expenses..... 1.19
To Sandusky, exp..... 2.12
9. Started for Detroit. Bill at Wm. Hull's tavern, 3 nights and 2 days..... 1.88
Expenses, fare, &c..... 5.85
10. Expenses, sundries..... .25

July 1. Attended at the Buffaloe Reservation councel House. Agent [Justus] Ingersol. Held a Talk with the chiefs & warriors — H[oratio] Jones and his son Interpreters. They felt quite alarmed at the reports circulated that the President was about to drive them from their reservation beyond the Miss[pi].

2. 11 p. M. Went on board the H. Clay; became acquainted with Major Wm. Hunt and lady from ———

4. At 10 o'clock landed at portland; went to church. Heard 2 discourses on the doctrine of election by grace. (presbyterian.)

5. Took stage 20 miles to Bevin's on the Turnpike and went on foot 10 miles to Mr. Strong'. Rev[d] D. Searl & M. McCall.

To writing letters & postage of sundry letters..... 2.00

6. Took Stage for sandusky. Arived 4 o'clock.

7. Hired prior To go and look at my land and found some Trespasses done, but not so much as my fears were.

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it, and did. When finished (a week or two after I got to the city), the Governor being there, made the report of that commission to Mr. Eaton, then secretary of war, and the head of Indian affairs. Mr. McCall's Journal must then, I think, have been made on his *recollection* of the affair, which lasted over two weeks, I think." See also *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., p. 432.

The Journal proves, however, to be a private diary of daily events, kept by McCall during the term of the commission, and has the advantage of being a record of first impressions, made upon the spot. The orthography is peculiar, but it must be remembered that correct spelling was not considered so essential in McCall's youth as in our day. He appears to have been a keen observer of men and things, and not lacking in dry humor. The report of the commissioners will be found *post*.— Ed.

Crops exceedin good and weather Dry and warm. Cool nights.

8. Last night the warmest I have seen. Slept with windows open. Took cold and am quite Hoarse — some headache. Visoted Mrs. Platt Brush, Judge Everit and sundry other persons.

9. Started for Detroit. Very cold, so that I wanted my cloak. Forgot my umbrella. Road badly cut up with the great rains & Travel. Turnpike almost a dead level, except at the Banks of the rivers and streams; 32 Miles To Maumee & 30 miles to river Raisin. Monroe Village a delightfull spot, although I only viewed it by moon light. Traveled all knight and arrived at Detroit at 9 A. M.

10. Called on Govr. Cass; Mr. [William B.] Hunt, sec'y of our commission. Afternoon dined with the govr., with sundry other gentlemen, his wife, Daughter and another lady. Genl Wool, Lawyer Wilkin, Dr. Cry, Mr. Irvin,[1] Green Bay, &c.; attended a while at the capitol. The Legislative councel in session. Quite a splendid building as well as spacious. I am now writing where I can see from my window the Village of greenwich, in His Majesty's dominion.

11. Went to church with Mr. Hunt in the fournoon. Mr. Wells, presbyterian, preached from 2nd Eph. 12: an able minister. In the afternoon read in Law's Call. Wrote some. Towards evening walked in the street — heard a foreigner preach from these words: "What shall it proffit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul." He stood in the open air by the market and many gathered to hear as they passed by. His dialect broad, his voice good, and words scripture; sound and apparently spiritual. I could not help biding him god speed and pray that it might be blessed to the good of some poor soul. But alas, how cold and heartless is my devotion To god my saviour.

12. Detroit. — Rain this morning. Wind north & cold — continues Rainy & cold.

[1] Robert Irwin, Jr., who was a close friend of Governor Cass and enjoyed his confidence. — Ed.

13. Cool & Cloudy in the morning — afternoon warm and showers.

Detroit. — This city has a government house for the Territory, a stone Catholic chapel, a presbyterian & Episcopalian church and a small Baptist meeting House. Became acquainted with Mr. Browning, a Merchant of considerable business, and a Baptist anti-Mason, from Albany.

15. Moved my lodgings from Woodworth's To the Mansion house. Bill 5 days, $5.00.

22. Expended for beer, etc. 1.00; purchased a suit of light cloaths, 6.25.

July 14. Fair and extremely warm. Genl. Root arived at 10 o'clock, Steam Boat superior. Clouds gather for shower.

15. clear and exceeding warm in the morning and continued through the day.

16. the same.

17. the same as To weather, & still at Detroit.

18. exceeding warm. Sunday. Went To the Baptist meeting. Elder ——— Davis preached. He was lately from Wales in England. he Baptized a young woman in the morning. The church is small — only 3 or 4 mail members. Mr. Mason, our collegue, arived in the Steam Boat.

19. Met and formed our board. Still exceeding warm. Therm. 90°.

20. Still at detroit. weather Hot and dry. Therm. 91°.

21. Met in the secretary's department. Weather warm — the mercury 93°.

22. The Board again met for Business.

23. The weather still excessive hot.

24. The board again met for business. Various Questions of great moment were raisd. The appropriation so small, $5,000 only, and much wanted to hold a Treaty, make presents, feed the Indians, &c. Govr. cass recommended the purchase of 100 Bbl. pork, 150 of flour and 300 bushels of corn, to be sent to Green Bay to Victual the Indians during the Treaty, also to present them with 4 or 5000 $ worth of goods to be distributed among them. For myself I doubted our authority, as nothing was said about a Treaty in our Instructions. Postponed untill Monday next.

Became acquainted with, at Detroit, Govr. L. Cass; Judge Lieb, Marshal of the Territory; Schoolcraft, legis. councel from St. Marie; Irvin, do., Green Bay; Edwards, do, St. Josephs; Col. Larnerd, Judges Abbot, Chipman, Sibley, C. C. Trowbridge, Cashr. M. Bank; Hastings, J. R. Williams, Rev. Wm. Berry, Mr. Wells, presbyterian Preacher.

25. Sunday. Went to Baptist meeting. Elder Lamb, late from Pultney, Steuben county, N. Y., Preached: but few hearers. At evening went to hear Mr. ——— a wesleyan Methodist in the Baptist House from these words: "Yea, more blessed are they who hear the word of god and keep it." A sound discourse and delivered in a forcible and impressive manner.

26. Monday. Met the commissioners and considered the resolution of Saturday, but thought proper To address a letter to Govr. Cass on the subject. Expenses for Beer, &c. 1.00.

27. Tuesday. Met as usual. Agreed to purchase 85 bbls. pork, 150 do. flour, and 300 Bushels corn. To be delivered at Green Bay by the 12th August. accepted Mr. B. B. Kircheval's proposals at

85 bbls. pork	at	$13.50
150 do. flour		5.75
300 bushels corn		.75

29. Met as usual. Agreed to have Mr. Irvin furnish a Table, &c., for the Treaty or council.

30. countermanded the above order. Took some pains to induce the steam Boat Niagara to start Tomorrow for Green Bay: but could not, for want of sufficient incouragement. Still very Hot and sultry. Got Genl Root's spectacles mended, which cost .44, — other expenses .44.

31. Still at detroit waiting the Boat Sheldon Thompson.

August 1. Sunday. Attended meeting. Mr. ——— preached: an English wesleyan Methodist. Last night a violent Tempest with heavy rain.

2. Monday. We ordered some stores for the Green Bay expedition: whole amount $100.83.

3. Tuisday evineng the Boat arrived. Settled my bill, 20 days — $20.00; washing .81. I have been here 25 days.

4. Wednesday. Started from detroit at 11 o'clock A. M. Stoped at ward's landing ——— miles above Lake St. Clair for wood—the first ground which rises more than 2 or 3 feet of the level of the river and here about six, and ascending back from the river as far as it is cleared, perhaps 80 rods. A fertile spot and I have no doubt in Time will be a Village. A Vessel has been Built here the last season. Timber fine and Tall consisting of oak, Hickory, Maple, &c. Started about 9 o'clock P. M. Next morning arived at fort Gratiot, where there is a garrison of 2 companies, situated at the foot of the rapids about ¾ of a mile from Lake Huron—the current strong and deep. The light house stands at the outlet. Here the land is higher than below and is said To be good.

5. Thursday morning started from the fort after landing part of the Troops which were on board. The whole number was 150. We have also 50 passengers. notwithstanding the strength of the current, the steam Boat towed a Vessel of 50 Tons burthen into the lake, although the current is at the rate of 5 or 6 Miles an hour. The land along the coast looks high and well timbered with pine and oak, and is said to be good land. The Banks are from 20 to 40 feet high, some of them clay and some rock.

6. Friday morning about 10 o'clock entered the western strait. The lake has been very rough and the boat rolled badly owing To the side wind and we in the Troughs; after passing the straight, Drummond's Island on the east and Point La Tour on the west. Passed through the 1000 Islands as called from the many of all sizes; in Lake george, about the midle, ran on a sand bar—got off in about half an hour. In Little L. George ran aground again—and detained about the same Time. About dark ran on again and after swinging the boat around she again floated, but did not go far. Cast anchor about 8 miles below the Sault de St. Marie. A Violent rain set in. The coast on both sides appears to be rocky and barren, mostly covered with spruce, cedar & Fir trees. Sugar Island is an exception; although high it is said to be covered with Maple Timber and is several miles long, insomuch that when under the

British, they Talked strongly of creating it into a rum plantation. Drummond's Island is not high and is a Barren rock on which the British when they gave up Michelemackinac to our government in 1815, retired to and Built a fort Barracks, but have since intirely evacuated and the island is now Tenantless. We now and then saw a few Indian Lodges by the river who wholly live on fish. As to wild game the country is said to be destitute of; rarely a moos and sometimes a Rain Deer, or, as they are called by the natives, ———, is Taken.

7th. Saturday morning, weighed anchor at daylight and arived at the fort at the foot of the rapids about 5 o'clock. 46 soldiers besides some officers landed. Mr. Schoolcraft's family also, being their place of residence. He is Indian agent at that place. The fort is handsomely situated on the west side of the river, picketed in with cedar posts 12 feet high a Block house at the north west and south east commanding all sides of the fort. There is a number of Houses without the fort, some covered roof and sides with cedar Bark, besides many French & Indian lodges made of flags wove Together like mats and set up end wise for the sides and covered with Birch Bark and made round like a stack of hay half done. There is a Missionary establish[ment] at this place by Elder Bingham, a regular Baptist. They are building now, are somewhat in a prosperous condition.

At 2 o'clock we left the Sault de St. Marie to return down the river. With the current and a fair wind we made great headway except in Lake George, where [we] again got out of the channel and with some difficulty and delay we got right and proceeded To Michalamakanak, where [we] arived about sun rise on Sunday.

8th. before breakfast Visited the fort and went to Fort Holmes on the summit of the Island and over looks every part of the Island. It has been evacuated and probably will never be wanted except in case of war.

There [are] evident marks of the waters having receded more than 20 feet in the process of time and a more healthy place I think there is not in the world. The Buildings in the fort are one story & a half high, framed and sided up

with Boards that are not plained and all white washed; with all, the walls, parapets and pickets makes an elegant appearance and may be seen at the distance of 30 miles in clear weather being situated about 50 feet above the lake.

In company with Mr. Davis from detroit Visited the missionary establishment, the Sunday school, &c., and then attended church. Mr. Cottren preached, who is Traveling for his health. Mr. Persey has the care of the establishment and [is] a presbyterian.

At half past one we set sail for green Bay with a fair wind which continued all night, and passed the strait between the northern extremity of Michigan Proper and the land lying between the latter lake and Superior befor dark. At daylight we were in sight of the Island which is at the entrance into the Bay.

9th. At ten o'clock we have just entered the Bay after having passed all of the Islands in the grand Traverse except one. The lake has been very rough and the passengers mostly sea sick. We are about destitute of wood — a hard wind and 50 miles from Green Bay. Stopped at the mouth of Menominee River and Took in wood — the wind still ahead. The water of this stream is of a dark coulor and the sand about the lake shore of the same hue. Much of the Timber about this place is yellow pine. Some of the Islands we passed in the Bay are high rocky bluffs perhaps 150 feet [high], almost perpendicular; others low and are said To be good land for Tillage.

10th. Arived in fox river — Green Bay fort — about 10 o'clock. Landed first at Shanty Town, thirty-two miles up the river [bay?], left some passengers and Goods, then droped down to Judge [John P.] Arndt's.[1] Took up our lodgings for the present. This country has the appearance of being but little above the River and Bay. At the southeast it rises som higher.

11th. At the bay. Navirino [is] the name of the village oposite the fort. Made arrangements to call the Indians into council on the 24th. The steam boat got under

[1] Site of the present residence of Mrs. O. H. Crane.— Ed.

weigh at 7 o'clock P. M. to return to Detroit. Hired a Boat to start in the Morning for Winnebago Lake.

12th. Made preparations to start up the river. Owing to various delays we only went about 12 miles & encamped about 1 mile above Apple Creek. Mr. Cox, traveling on horse back, stoped with us through the night; our Boat furnished by Judge Arndt with hands, &c. Genl. Root was out of health and did not start from the Village but is expected to meet us. 2 Frenchmen & one Indian furnish our boatmen. The country is open on both sides of the river about 5 miles from the Bay. From that up, on the right bank, it is oak openings. On the left it is thick timber covered with a variety such [as] oak, hickery, Maple, pine, &c. The banks High, from 20 to 30 feet, and in some places rise a little from the river into Hills; the land good, although a clay soil of a red or crimson couler; no bottoms, except at Mr. [Eleazer] Williams' up to the Great Rappids. He is a half Blood St. Regis, with a half Blood Menomonie wife. He has the advantage of a liberal education and [is] said to be a cunning man and claims, in the right of his wife, a large tract of land, and is paid by government $250 annually as chaplain for the Oneida Indians. I expect he will make us difficulty in satisfying the New York Indians, in making them believe their claim is more extensive than it is. Note: it is common in this region for the business men to marry those half Blood Ladies.

13th. Started after an early breakfast and went up to Augustine Grignon on the right bank of the river. He has two whole sections, covering the best advantages at the Rappids for mills and other Hydrauliks, and a large share of open Bottom land. They have become rich by trading with the Indians. The family are mixed Bloods of French and Indians. From this across the river up to the lower end of the rappids of the Grand Kakalin,[1] where the Stockbridge tribe settlement begins, unloaded our boat and hired our load carted up over land to the head of the rappids and a little

[1] Now Kaukauna.— ED.

above the Mission house, and sent our Boat to that place. Hired 5 Indians, making eight hands. Stopped at ——— Gardners, an Indian on the bank of the river. There are 7 islands in this great Rappid which falls about 30 feet. The Stockbridge tribe have a saw Mill and are preparing to [build] and [put] the frame up for a grist mill on one of the branches of the river.

14. Satterday morning. Rained all the fournoon. Staid and Breakfasted at the Mission House. This establishment is of the presbiterian order and conducted by Mr. [Cutting] Marsh and Mr. Stephens,[1] and is in a prosperous state. At 12 o'clock the rain ceased and we started and went on about 3 miles and encamped; the state of the country much as below. The Little Chuete is [a] perpendicular fall of 1 foot and a continued Rappid of more than a mile and falls about 24 feet, on the west side of which is an Island of considerable size and convenient for Hydraulicks. Oposite the Island is a Bottom of 2 or 300 acres of open land or prairie. On the Back side of it, a handsome ellevation of about 30 feet; the scattering timber W.[hite] oak. This is the spot of all I have seen in the country the most Valuable were the country around it settled. I was surprized by finding a store and ashery just below this, on the Stockbridge side of the river. This Bottom is the 4th and largest on the river and are never overflowed, as the water never rises more than 3 feet.

15th. Sunday. Clear. Went on up the river to the Grand Chute. Hired 5 Indians to help the Boat up the falls, which is about 6 feet, almost perpendicular. The river breaks over a smooth rock and is about 80 rods wide. Loaded Boats have to unload here and carry over by the edge of the water and then re-load. The land here puts into the river in high Bluffs and is somewhat broken at the river. Above this the water is still, so as to roe a boat the most of the way to Winnebago Lake. The banks grow lower and better all the way up; there is, on the bluffs mentioned, 2 lodges where they make bark canoes.

[1] Rev. J. D. Stevens, who was the Presbyterian minister at Platteville in 1844.— Ed.

We left this about noon and went up to Butte de Morts and encamped on the ground where the Indians were called to the Treaty in 1827. Here is the best water I have seen in the Territory. A good Spring a little farther up is Spring creek, said to be sufficient boath in Quantity of Water as well as falls for mills. This is a handsome place and good land. The height of land here is about 16 feet above the level of the river. The name of this place in English is Hill of Death — a Mound in the middle of the prararra [prairie], where the french and Indians about 100 years [ago] Slaughtered the Siox or Sock Indians and chased the rest out of the country, and in this mound they Buried the dead.

Below this place is [as] grand [a] place in nature as I have ever seen, on a plain on the same side (viz., west) about 20 ft. above the river, which is just above it more than one mile wide and oposite about 80 rods; together with the richness of the soil [this] makes it a verry interesting spot.

16. Monday morning. Started and went up to the lake about 2 miles to the uper end of the Rappids at the outlet of Winnebago Lake; here we made our Boundary for the west side of the first purchase of the Menominie and Winnibago Indians. After halting, the Indians, whose Village was in sight, seeing our U. S. flag which was hoisted, began to gather Round us and in about an hour the chief approached us with his aid De cong. There was there in all 55, male and female. The chief's name is Four-legs.[1] We then addressed him by our interpreter to learn more particularly where they considered the boundaries of the New York Indians' purchase was. He gave us for answer, that he would call in some other chiefs which belonged to the band and let us know about 12 o'clock. Acordingly went round in to the lake on the oposite side of the Island. Took our dinner and returned to meet the chief at his lodge. Here we found them collected — in all about 10 in number — the

[1] Hootschope (Four-Legs) had his village on the site of Neenah, at the mouth of Lake Winnebago. His Menomonee name was Neokautah. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, v., p. 96, *note*, and x., p. 114, *note*, for references to his custom of gathering toll from American fur traders.— Ed.

head chief seated on his Mat cross-legged in all the majesty of an Asiatic prince. After a profound silence, he arose from his seat and shook hands with each of us and addressed us to this effect in the Winnebago, interpreted in Ojibway or Chipewa to Mr. Conner who interpreted it to us in English. (The chief who interpreted the Winnebago language name was *duck*.)

When the Wappenackys[1] came to this country I was the first to take them by the hand. They asked us for a small piece of land to rais Bread for their children and intended to cultivate the land for their living — that they had some presents, but it was not enough to cloath us, but they said it would do us some good. We gave them some land to set down upon where they now live but did not sell it to them. At first few came, but since that they have been coming evry year in great number as though they would claim the whole country in spite of us.

On being again asked where they gave them land, they again answered that it was below the Little Chute — that there was a Tree marked at that place, but it was fallen down and the man that marked it was dead, and if the Whopenackys told more than that they told lies.

This country is as interesting a country as I have seen — the important communication between the lakes and Mississippi with only one mile portage and that easily canalled, being low, not exceeding six feet above a level with the river — the land exceding good, the Hydraulic boundless on fox river [which] below the lake and before you reach the Bay, falls about 145 feet.

After learning the feelings of those savages, we concluded our survey and returned, after presenting them with 12 or 15 lb. tobacco and 5 or 6 dozen of pipes, down the river and encamped at the place where we staid on Saturday night.

17. Tuesday morning. Came down to the Mission

[1] Waubanakees, or Oneidas.— Ed.

house[1] and according to apointment when we went up met the chiefs and head men of the stockbridge Tribe in council; gave them our hands, and presented them with a short written address and a copy of extracts from our instructions as far as related to them, to prepare their minds against their meeting us in council on Tuesday next. They appeared pleased and closed our business for this Time. In the meantime Mrs. Stephens had prepared an excellent dinner of which we partook and then started our boat down the rappids. And we went on by land to the foot of the rappids, where we joined the boat and returned to the Bay about 10 o'clock at night.

18th. Wednesday. Ordered that Mr. Arndt furnish a Table for 40 Dinners during the council, to which he agreed, at 50c per Dinner, exclusive of liquor, and To be paid for building a Bowery covered with Boards, and seated for 500 people.

19th. Cloudy and Threatens for a storm. Indians begin to collect and want something to eat. We have to Issue rations. Nothing special Takes place. This day between 1 and 3 o'clock a man by the name of ——— was hanged for the crime of murder.[2] He tied the rope himself and appeared firm without a Tremor. He was a soldier and shot the master Boat builder for the U. S., because he reported him as slack in his work. After running away—absent 2 days—returned and gave himself up and before the court plead guilty to the charge and was sentenced to be Hanged.

20. Friday morning. Thundered, and sets in for a vio-

[1] Kept by Rev. Cutting Marsh; it was in those days almost the only house of entertainment between Green Bay and Fond du Lac.—Ed.

[2] In *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iv., p. 182, is an account of the hanging of a man named Hempstead, at Green Bay, by Sheriff Ebenezer Childs. The date given there as 1829, being from memory, is no doubt incorrect; the case is apparently identical with the one mentioned by Mr. McCall in 1830. The late Andrew J. Vieau, of Fort Howard, wrote me under date of December 29, 1887, that "the man Hempstead murdered was named Gorham, the master boat builder." Vieau's memory went back to that period, and as he had no recollection of any other execution at Green Bay, and no knowledge of Mr. Call's diary, the testimony appears to be conclusive that Child's date is erroneous.—Ed.

lent shower and clears up warm. Wrote a letter home, also to Mr. Magee. Indians still gathering. Issue about 600 Rations. No Winnebagoes have yet assembled. During my stay here I have observed a regular rise and fall in the river every day of about 18 Inches, and the inhabitants say it is continually so, but varies in different weather.[1] The water in all of the lakes and rivers are said to be about 4 feet higher than they were in 1821.

21. Saturday. Indians still gathering from all directions.

22. Sunday. No preaching, except at the fort in a school room. Mr. Williams in his flowing Robe did service in the episcopalian form. I did not attend. Few Indians arived this day untill evening, when 14 canoe load came down the river at once, and 4 or 5 came up the bay. It is a fine Pleasant day, — after 3 or 4 days of shower weather.

23. Monday. A fine pleasant day. About 1 o'clock a fleet of sixty canoes loaded with Indians came in, making in all about 1200, and at 6 o'clock we visited their encampment and found them drunk, boath male and female — quarriling among them selves — and [they] continued their reveling nearly all night. We have requested all persons not to sell Liquor to Indians during the council, and it is also penal from $5. to $100. to sell liquor to Indians.

24th. Thursday. At 12 o'clock met in councel in the council house built for that purpose by Mr. Arndt. After smoaking the pipe of peace the following address was read and Interpreted to them in the chipewa language, which they are all said to understand:

Brothers: Your red Brethren, the Wappenaikies, came to your country some years ago and you Took them by the hand and told them they might have a home among you. You sold them land to live on and they gave you money and goods for it. They believed that you were satisfied, and they have brought their wives and children from a

[1] This tide was observed by Father Marquette, in 1673. For further references, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, i., p. 62; vi., p. 169: vii., pp. 230, 267.— Ed.

great distance, and have built houses and have the lands in corn and settled on them as their own.

Your great Father the President saw this and was pleased. He was glad his red children could agree among themselves & help each other, but heard that you afterwards became dissatisfied and he was sorry.

He wishes his red children all to be happy and love each other as brothers: his heart is sad when they cannot agree. He wishes to enquire into your difficulties & do justice to all. He has been Told that you and the N. York Indians disagree about your boundaries of your land, and he has sent us his commissioners to hear what you all have to say and to fix the lines between you. At the treaty of Buttes des Morts you said to your great father, the president, you wished him to keep his red children from quarreling about their land; and you there agreed that he should settle all differences among you as a father who loves all his children alike, and you promised to obey him as good children, and do what he should tell you. Your father has so many white children to take care of that he cannot come himself to see you. But he has sent us his officers to talk with you & to hear what you have to say. He has Told us to hear all and do justice to all, and has ordered us to lay off a country or tract of land for the New York Indians are to live and have a home of their own free of any interuption, and where he must protect them as he does his other children. Now we want to hear what you have to say and we want you to tell us what boundary will best suit you and your brethren the N. Y. Indians. Your Great Father says they must have enough for themselves and their children, and he has told us to leave enough for you to hunt on, and where you may raise corn and build your wigwams. We will listen to what you have to say now or when you are prepared to Talk.

There were present, the commissioners; Secy; [S. C.] Stambaugh, agent; Mr. Connor, interpreter; chiefs from the Menomenie and Winnebago nations; Delegates from the Oneidas, Stockbridge, Tuscarora and Brotherton Indians;

private gentlemen, French and a motly crew of mixed and full blood Indians. The council adjourned until to-morrow. Invited Four-legs, a Winnebago chief, to dine with sundry gentlemen. This man about 40 years of age, of middling stature, is the most interesting man in his appearance and deportment. Speaks in his own toung fluently and forcible. In short, he is a great man. The Winnebagoes number about 4,000. The Menominies number about 1,500. They are all in their rude uncultivated state Inhabiting a vast region of country streatching from the mouth of Green Bay to the Mississippi. And considering the natural advantages, the most interesting of any of our country, and when if ever it is open for settlement will soon be a populous, rich country.

The names of the chiefs attending the council are as follows:

For the St. Regis tribe,— The Revd. Mr. Williams.

" Brothertown " —Wm. Dick, N. Towles & John Jonston.

" Oneidas,— John Anthony, Danl. Bread, Henry Powles, Comly Stevens, N. Autsequitt.

" Stock Bridge,—Jn. Metoxen, Jno. W. Quinney, B. Kunkipot, Jacb. Cheaks & Andrew Miller.

Winnebagoes

Hoot-schoop or Four legs
Shounk-tshunk-siap or Black Wolf
Wheank-Kaw- " Big Duck
Monk-Kaw-Kaw

25th Wednesday. It was proposed that the New York Indians should invite the Menominie chiefs to a conference, and accordingly they met in a house by themselves, but with open windows. We sent our interpreter, Mr. Conner, and a man by the name of [Richard] Pricket interpreter for Mr. Stambaugh also attended with them and after their usual ceremonies the Wapennakies made them a speach. In answer the Menominies said they would be ready when they were furnished with a Menomonee interpreter to tell them what they had to say. There is no doubt that some

of the French People are continually making improper representations to the Menominies in order to prevent those natives from agreeing to anything reasonable in favor of laying off land to the New York Indians. We therefore did not go to the council house to-day, and went immedeatily about getting an interpreter. A young man by the name of Greignio [Grignon] was recommended, we sent for him, and inquiring his price per day, he said he would not interpret short of $8.00. We gave up employing him.

We had previously agreed, as the custom was to invite a number of the chiefs to dinner on such ocasions, to take some from each Tribe, & accordingly invited the Munsee, Mr. Hunt and 2 from each of the other Tribes of New York Indians, except the Menominies [; from whom,] being more numerous we invited four.

Chiefs of the Minominie Tribe.

Osh-kosh	or	The Brave.
Car-ron	"	Josette.
Peno-we-gon-na	"	Big Soldier.
Kaush-kaw-no-nawe,	"	Bears Grease.
Pe-wit-ta-nit	"	Rain.
Wa-ba-se	"	Rabbit.
Man-bas-cause	"	Rabbit or Hare.
Mha-nanon-pork	"	Wave.
Tan-kau-mha-ki-chin	"	Little Chief.
Tche-nawn-pau-ma	"	All Looks upon.

26. Thursday morning, about 8 o'clock, it began to rain and hindered our meeting as early as we intended. About 10 it ceased and we met again in councel and after waiting a long time they informed us that they could not talk to us without an interpreter and they must have this same Grignio who before asked $8 per day. We told them they might have whoever they were a mind to send for. They also told us they would talk with us when he came. Adjourned untill afternoon; met again;—then they told us that they were unlerned and wanted some council as the Wap-

penakies have, and they should make choice of one of us that is of our white men, and [one who] lived in a Brick house and was Judge of the high court, and that they wanted a coppy of our instructions that they might have them to keep and also wanted a copy of our Talk of the first day. This was the request of the Minominies which we granted.

The Winnebagoes were asked through Their interpreter, a French woman who attended for that purpose, what they said in relation to that subject. To Which they replied that they wanted the same privilege as the Minominees, but they thought the same council would answer for boath,—which was also granted and the council adjourned.

In the evening, Fore legs with some of his chiefs, came to our Lodgings and told our interpreter that they had something to communicate to us. We told them to say on. They then told us they ought to have some person to council them and they would take some person in the house. We told them they could take whom they pleased. they then took hold of and introduced a young Lawyer by the name of Henry S. Baird, to us as their council. All this they have been put up to to prevent them from agreeing to anything, and to delay time. We are led to this conclusion by every movement of the greatest part of the Inhabitants of this place.

Agreed to invite some of the Officers from the fort and some private gentlemen to diner, and about 14 chiefs. To the Minominees and Winnebagoes have made a point [to present] each a Blue Am. callico shirt. And about the time of dining some words passed between Genl Root and Mr. Mason in relation to the invitations to dinner, and some of the company already present refused to sit at the Table and some very hard words passed To the mortification or dissatisfaction of all present and the whole was confusion. Mr. Mason immediately declared that he would not have anything to do with a public dinner in which Genl Root was concerned, and Told Mr. Arndt to make the public bill up to that Time. We of coarse rather than have any confusion ceased to set a public Table. I said that I would invite the remainder of [the] Indians, which was

about ten, if at my own expence, or it might give offence and prevent our negotiation from progressing favorably.

27. Friday. Again in councel. There are now 1740 Indians attending. We told the menominies we wished to hear from them. Accordingly Oushcosh [Oshkosh] arose and stated that they had not sold the Wappinackies any land — they had given them the privilege to settle down among them but he knew of no writing nor had he signed any untill the treaty of Buttes des Morts in 1827, by Govr. Cass. He said he wished to know of his brothers the Wappenakies [what] they had to say and what they want of them. The Winnebagoes were called upon to speak. The head chief, Fourlegs, answered that what had been said by his brother in behalf of the Minominies was agreeable to his opinion and the feelings of his nation, but wished to know what the Wappenakies had to say, but at present he had no more to speak.

In the afternoon met in councel. The New York Indians presented a very lengthy memorial setting forth their reasons &c. why they were Intitled to an individed right with the Minominies, a part of which was interpreted to the Indians, but owing to its great length and not necessary to the information of Minominies and Winnebagoes, they being unable to understand its bearing, we ceased to Interpret it, and only ordered it to be filed by the secretary.

At night a band of the Winnebagoes appeared, painted all coulors — not only their faces but their bodies — before the door of the house where we boarded, incouraged by some and Treated by others with whiskey. They held the war dance and kept it up untill 10 o'clock at night, with all their disfigured and distorted countenances — naked except Breech clouts. All with some kind of warlike weapon and horrid yell, made them resemble so many infernals.

28th. Saturday. Met in council. The New York Indians told their Red Brethren, the Winnebagoes & Menominies, that they wanted only their rights — that they might live in friendship — and they ought to have all the land on Fox River from Winnebago lake down to Rapid de Pierre, and that width running N. West 30 miles

and south east 15 miles from the River, and perpendicular Breadth about 26 miles, making about 748,800 acres.

After giving the chiefs and warriors notice that they would have only 2 days rations more, except the chiefs & families, and that they must remove their camp and had better return home, we adjourned untill afternoon. At 3 o'clock P. M. met again, and after showing the Indians a map of this part of their country, They said all the country they could spare was from the Little Butte des Morts on the N. W. side of Fox river to the head of the Rappids, and that width to the 3 days Travel with an Indian and his family, or as we understand 30 miles and about 10 miles & a half wide, making about 201,600 acres of land. That was something less than one third of the amount asked by the N. Y. Indians. We then adjourned the council untill Monday. After we adjourned about 70 Pottowatimies and Ottawas came in — all to git rations, as they had no concern in the treaty or councel. At evening the Winnibagoes held another war dance in which the head chief, Four-legs displayed great activity.

29. Sunday. Laid by. About 9 o'clock Four-legs came to the house and asked if we wanted them to dance. We told him it was sunday, or day to worship the Great Spirit. He said white man sent him Telling him we wished to have them dance, as there would be no councel. No doubt some person did it for To make sport.

30. Monday. Held a conference with the Oneida chiefs to Try to have them agree to seperate locations. They told us they were united in their purchase, and could not seperate their interests. We waited all day for their conclusion and did not meet in genl. council, and Tried to agree among ourselves what location to make; not expecting any agreement on the part of the different Tribes we felt bound to make a location To refer to the president for confirmation or rejection — and from the conflicting Interests some advising one, some another. At evening recd. a communication from the New York Indians stipulating to throw off 10 miles from the northwest side of their claim on condition we would add certain other parts of Tracts at

the mouth of Dutch creek near Green bay, but still their demands were such that we could not accede to them.

31. Tuesday morning. We came so near agreeing among ourselves that we began to hope that we should be able to locate and directed Mr. [Albert G.] Ellis to Take a survey of the mouth of duck creek and the points necessary to fix a N. Easterly Boundary, and also to run part of the line as determined by the Treaty of Buttes des Morts to know where the Oneida settlement was situated and to report the same to us.

At 4 o'clock P. M., met in council to see if the Winnebagoes and Minomenies would agree to our proposition, which was to give the N. Y. Indians about 295,000 acres being nearly 120 acres to every soul interested among them. The Menominies and Winnebagoes told us they would not give or let the New York Indians have one foot more land than they had offered and Fore-legs said we might go home and tell the president so. The New York Indians said they wished to see the commissioners in the morning for they had some thing to say To them and desired to have Winnebago and Menominie chiefs present. We accordingly agreed to meet them at Mr. Arndt's, where we boarded.

I have forgot to mention that a drunken soldier posted near the Indian encampment to guard a field of potatoes & corn, stabed a Menominee chief — a harmless old man — by the name of Big Soldier. The soldier was put under guard and probably will be punished for geting drunk on his post and for improper conduct as a soldier.

Sept. 1. Wednesday. At 9 o'clock A. M. assembled [in] Mr. Arndt's Temporary dining hall. Mr. ——— in behalf of the N. York Indians said they did not altogether agree with the proposition of the com'rs, but desired to live in peace with their Brethren the Winnibagoes and Minominees. The Winnebagoes said they should agree with the Minominees in what they did, but as they said they would give no more, they would not, and as fore legs who was speaking made his last expression he siezed his sword as though he would go to war first. The Minominees stated in a few words that they would not let the Wappenakies have an inch more

than they had offered. The councel for the Minominees read a speech in behalf of them, in relation to the original Treaties between them and the N. Y. Indians, in which they charged the Latter with fraud. To the Indian wounded by the soldier yesterday we presented one bbl. pork, one barrel of flour and 3 bushels of corn, and then the councel Broke up.

In the afternoon the com'rs were invited to attend at the agent's house to hear what the Indians had to say to him. After their usual formalities they began by stating that they were poor and ignorant creatures, and they wanted to know where all of the commissioners instructions came from and no presents. That they were going home to gather their rice and they had no Tobacco to smoak, and insted of a pipe they had to put a stick in their mouth. That they wanted 2 days' rations to help them home. That they wanted powder & shot to assist them to procure meat for their children. Besides, the current was strong to push against and they wanted to suck one of their fathers' breasts — that milk would make them strong — meaning a keg of whiskey to suck at. Then paused a little and said that they had heard of their great father the president, and they wanted to go and see him, but was so poor that [they] could not go without his help, and wanted the agent to write to the president to furnish them with clothing and expenses, and for the agent or some other person to accompany them with an interpreter.[1] Also to go to washington. *A fine Job for two or three to make money.* A plan got up by Judge [James D.] Doty and the Grignios to rob the Treasury of some eight or ten thousand dollars.

2d Thursday. We are settling with the interpreters and Mr. Arndt for furnishing the public Table, and waiting for an oportunity to return to Detroit, and for a report from

[1] This desire on the part of the Menomonees was, after the close of the present council, fostered by Agent Stambaugh, who went to Washington in December, 1830, with Daniel Bread, Grizzly Bear, Eleazer Williams, and others, and concluded there, Jan. 8, 1831, what became known as "the Stambaugh treaty," covering the ground attempted by the commissioners the summer before. For details, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., pp. 432 *et seq.* — Ed.

the surveyor who is now out. In the afternoon went out Towards duck creek N. from the fort. Found it a low country. The road was along on a piece of elevated ground hove up by the surf of the Bay, being a perfect representation of a beach — sand, with some small pebbles of different kinds of stone from which the bay has receded, although it is 15 or 20 feet below the general elevation. Between it and the lake or bay is a large Tract, allmost as far as I could see, of low meadow of wild grass but little above the water, which is now said to be 3 feet above the usual height. The land above the ridge is wet prairie or low land, with willow, alders, tamarack and some large aspen and popple, but may be reclaimed with proper culture & draining.

Whole amount of expences of the Mission.

Pork, flour and corn purch^{d}	2235.00
Mr. Arndt's bill for entertaining Indians, &c	242.04
Mr. Wendal's bill of goods	187.94
	$2664.98

3^{d} Fryday. Closed up with the remnant of the Indians and turned over the ballance of our provision, flour, &c. to the agent, Mr. Stambaugh for his draft on Governor Cass.

24 bbls.	pork at	13.50	
71 do.	flour..	5.75	being the price paid.
32 bushels	corn..	.75	756.25

The whole amount purchased was — For the above ballance expect a draft on Gov. Cass.

85 bbls.	pork	13.50	
150 "	flour	5.75	
300 bu.	corn	75	$2235.00
	from which deduct..		756.25
			1478.75

11 o'clock. I started for the Oneida settlement at Duck creek about 8 miles distant. Traveled over a bad road 6½ miles and came to an ash swamp mired down and with

difficulty got my horse out and returned. The land is very level — the whole height not more than 100 feet elevation between those waters. The land with proper cultivation when cleared will make good farms for grass and some will be good for grain, but badly watered.

The wounded Indian came with two or three others, as our interpreter informed us, To take his leave of us and to ask for a Blanket, a shirt and some Tobacco which we gave him, and to 3 others gave each a shirt — being the last of what 4 ps. of Blue callico made, as it has been the fashion to give every one a shirt that comes to dine. Towards evening the old man was as drunk as any of them.

Rations issued	19,399
Winnebagoes	620
Minominees	16,362
New York	1,435
Chipeway, &c	1,192

Greatest number 1,445 M.— 75 Win.— N. Y. 191 — Chip. 161, per day.

4th. Saturday. Waiting impatiently for some Vessel to arive that we may have a passage to Detroit. Walked out to Devel river about one mile. A fine, dry, sandy ridge hove up at some ancient period by the surfs of the Bay, which has long since receded and left a flat of low ground between it and the river. All the streams have no curant near their mouths and are almost overgrown with gras and wild Rice; and all round the Bay it is the same, which cause has produced the name of Green Bay. This country is Too low to be comfortable for roads and settlements — many swamps of Black ash, red & white cedar.

5th. Sunday morning. A cold northeast storm of wind and rain. Went to the fort to meeting. Mr. Coltern preached an excellent discourse from these words — The way of the transgressor is hard. There were present 4 ladies, 2 of whom were half-bloods, two subaltern officers and 4 private gentlemen, and about 50 soldiers. The wind is fair to bring an arival of some vessel and about 15 men [are] anxious to see a sail. At evening a messinger arived with a letter to the agent informing him that 60 of the Sock

Indians had passed near that place (Fort Winnebago) to attack the Menominies.

6th. Monday. The N. E. storm seems to have blown over, and no vessel has arived. With much anxiety we are all waiting to return to Detroit.

7th. Tuesday. A comfortable day. At evening we were alarmed at the fall of a building which was in raising after one plate was on, in putting on the other. The hands princepally on the building when it fell — 6 men badly wounded, two mortally, as supposed, others hurt more or less. How uncertain is this mortal life.

8th. No arival yet. The wounded men are all alive and some hopes of their recovering. At evening Mr. Stambaugh came and offered us a receipt for the provisions delivered, but refused to draw on Govr. Cass as expected.

9th. Thursday. Very pleasant but cool. Still waiting for an arival with great impatience. Walked up to Shanty Town and back again.— How impatient I am.

10th. Friday. Very pleasant. At evening clouds up — threatens with a storm. There is now waiting for a passage twenty persons, 14 of which are at this house — Arndt's.

11th. Saturday. A violent northeast storm of wind and Rain and very cold. Still fair wind to bring an arival — no news from the lower country for 4 weeks. At evening the steam boat H. Clay arived, which caused great joy among the persons waiting. Still a violent storm from the N. E.

12th. Sunday. All in a bustle to git ready for a start. The wind still blowing hard from the N. E. At evining clear and calm.

13th. Monday. Morning clear and pleasant. Although we had been long waiting we were not ready. Mr. John P. Arndt's draft was not made out and we could hardly git together to settle & arange the business. His account was $242.04 for arrangements for the council: viz. Boat and hands to Winnebago lake, 6 Days; building council House, furnishing public Table & liquor for 111 extra meals, & Ferry boat and hands four days for the council to cross the river. Ballance as above.

Mr. Ellis presented his maps and charges for surveying, &c. $99.25. Paid him $147.25 cash, & an order on Mr. Stambaugh for 3 Bbls. pork @ 13.50 & 2 of flour at 5.75, part of which we turned over to him.

My bill at Arndts—10 matts ..... 8.
Board, liquor, Washing & Horse ride to Duck creek.. 23.7
Fare to Detroit ..... 24.

On Board. Started at half past 1 o'clock. Tolerable fair wind and go at the rate of 12 miles per Hour. The darkness of the night and the wind increasing Together; the crooked ways of the channel among Islands induced Capt. Norton to cast anchor at 8 o'clock in the evening; but finding his anchor not to hold, Turned head to the wind and put on steam enough to hold our ground and continued so all night,— about forty miles from Fort Howard. I gave Mr. Ellis a five dollar bill to make a map and send to me by mail, of the Tract of country explored and laid off.

14. Tuesday morning: the wind still high. Capt. Norton put the boat before the wind and hoisted sail and made for Michilimakinak. The wind vearing round to the north and the bay so rough that the captain thought best to run into Eagle Harbour, where we are again at anchor. The land on shore is in places high rocky bluffs, in other places Low at the shore but soon raising from that to high land and looks like a good country.

About 3 o'clock got under weigh, the [wind] more in our favor. Passed the High Bluffs called Death's door before dark and soon fell under the lee of Louse Island and entered L. Michegan, which was very rough, the wind N. W. and on our beam, so that we rode in the troughs of the swell and rolled and Tumbled violently. In the morning we had passed the Beaver and fox Island and was near Laber Crosh [1] and soon in sight of Michillimacanak.

15th. Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock, landed at Mackanak—the wind fresh from the northwest, and the Boat rolls so that we cannot Take in wood. At sundown the wind ceased and the boat was hauled up to the wharf for to Take

[1] L'Arbre Croche.— Ed.

in wood, and expect to start sometime in the night. Weighed anchor and made sail between 10 & 11 o'clock.

16th. Thursday. A fair wind and at 4 o'clock P. M. opposite to Saginaw Bay about 150 miles from Mackinaw—the wind fair and heavy.

17th. Friday morning as the day dawned, passed the light house at the outlet and in the twilight run down the rappids — the weather clear and cold — but when the sun got up air became mellow and at noon quite warm — at which hour we arived at Detroit, 45 days since we left it, and somewhat thankful that I am again in a christian country. From Makinak we have had 2 presbyterian ministers and a catholic priest — the Vicar of his Holiness the pope.

18. Satterday. Attended our business, aranging our counts & making our report. This morning a hard frost, but clear and come about warm.

19. Sunday. Went to the Baptist meeting. A Mr. Parker preached — a man from Avon, Livingston county [New York.]

20. Monday morning early, ingaged in finishing our business, intent on Taking passage in the Niagara steamboat. Much to do, and required every moment. Our fiscal and general report about to be engrossed, besides duplicate Vouchers for all of our expenditures to be made out and signed, examined, &c. We did not git the general Report done. Took it on board and finished it while going to Sandusky, at which place we arived next morning at 8 o'clock, where Mr. Mason took stage for Kentucky. A Blustering night. Came to under the lee of Cunningham's Island.

21. Tuesday. Thick, cloudy, and strong east wind right ahead. It is now 2 o'clock, and we have only made Black river 30 miles from Sandusky. The lake rough — we are Tossed about till the greatest number on board are very sick. At 8 o'clock at cleveland; captain Blake dare not attempt to go into the Harbour; cast anchor about a mile from shore, and put his passengers on shore by the small boat — the sea so rough that it was with difficulty the small boat could come along side, rolling so that its gunwale was

sometimes as high as the s. Boat & two women had to be put on shore. I felt for the poor creatures who were crying for fear.

MEMORANDUM BY COMMISSIONER M'CALL.

Boundary lines of the location of lands for the New York Indians—As established by the Hon^l. E. Root, J. McCall & J. T. Mason, commissioners of the U. States.[1]

Begining at a point on the N. W. line of the cession by the Menominees to the U. States — by the Treaty of Le Butte des Morts in August, 1827, due west from the mouth of Duck creek — emptying into Green Bay — thence runing E. to the mouth of said Duck creek — Thence South westerly so as to leave the most easterly improvement of the Oneida settlement on Duck creek to the N. W. of such line untill it intersects the aforesaid N. W. line of said cession by the Minominees to the U. S.— thence westerly in said last mentioned line to a point N. 40° West — from the mouth of Plumb creek on the east side of Fox river thence south 40° E. to the bank of Fox River and oposite the mouth of said Plumb creek — thence up and along the bank of Fox River to the Little Butte des Morts — thence N. 45° W. far enough to make a Triangular piece of land by drawing a strait line from such a point in this last described course to the place of begining, as shall contain 275,000 acres of [land] excluding those from all private land claims within the same — That shall be legally substantiated.

Also on the east side of Fox river, as follows, (viz.) beginning at the foot of the rappids of the grand Kackalin — runing thence up and along fox river to the little chute — and extending back from fox River in this width, two & 50-100 miles south 45° east, far enough to contain six thousand acres of Land. It being stipulated that if the govern ment of the U. S. will pay the N. Y. Indians now living on this location for their Improvements then they are to remove onto the west side of the Fox river.

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[1] Cf. terms of Stambaugh treaty, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., pp. 435 *et seq.*— Ed.

Also located especially for the Brotherton Indians —As follows: Begining on the east side of Fox River, at the corner made by Thomas Dean at the foot of Little Kakalin — thence up and along the River — to the mouth of plumb creek and extending back of this width s. 45° East, far enough to make twenty thousand acres of Land.

It is further stipulated that an equal quantity of land with that contained in the description, and comprehended in the cessions of the Minominies at the little Butte des Morts, shall be Taken from the lands on the east side of Fox River, between the grand cackalin and Winnebago lake — between parrelell lines running south 43° east from said river and far enough back to make the amount Taken from the said cession of 1827.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING M'CALL'S JOURNAL.[1]

SECRETARY HUNT'S ACCEPTANCE.

DETROIT, June 28, 1830.

Ths. S. McKenney, Esq.,

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 8th inst., notifying me of my appointment as Secretary of the Board of Commissioners to locate Indian lands &c. at Green Bay.

I thankfully accept the appointment and shall make every arrangement to join the Commissioners on their arrival at this place.

It is very gratifying to me to receive this testimonial of respectful remembrance on the part of my friends, and of confidence and public trust on the part of the President. These considerations will constitute the strongest inducements in my mind to exert myself to meet the expectations of the Commissioners in the discharge of the duties which may devolve upon me.

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully,
Your obt. Servt.,
WM. B. HUNT.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

The Honorable John H. Eaton, Secretary of War.

SIR,—Gen. Root has sent to me the enclosed report of the Green Bay Commissioners, with a request to present it, together with the assurances of his most respectful consideration, to you.

I have the honor to be,
With high respect,
Your obedient servant,
S. R. HOBBIE.

WASHINGTON, Nov'r. 29, 1830.

[1] Obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior at Washington.—ED.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The undersigned commissioners appointed by the President of the United States "to locate a District of Country at Green Bay and establish the boundaries thereof, for the accommodation and settlement of the New York Indians" in execution of the trust confided to them, assembled at Detroit on the 19th day of July last. Here, as they were advised in the letters announcing their appointment, they received through Gov. Cass, their instructions from the department of war. They remained at Detroit, engaged in collecting information and making the necessary preparations as will appear by their journal and a further report of the fiscal concerns of the mission, till the 4th day of August, when they embarked for Green Bay. They arrived at this place on the 10th day of the same month.

The Commissioners were specially enjoined by their instructions to endeavour to reconcile the various tribes concerned and preserve harmony among them, and so to arrange matters as to maintain good and kind feelings among'st all the parties; and being also advised that before the President could give his sanction to any arrangements made by them, he must be fully satisfied that these important considerations are fully obtained. They were advised by high authority at Detroit and individually felt the fitness of the advice, that the Winnebago and Menominie Chiefs would not yield their assent to any measures the Commissioners might adopt without the approbation of their respective nations, expressed in Council. Accordingly on their first arrival at Green Bay the Commissioners took measures for summoning a Council. Runners were dispatched, with the wampum and tobacco to the Countries of the Winnebagoes and Menominies, and messages to the New York Indians, inviting them to assemble at that place on the 24th instant. The intermediate time was employed in exploring and surveying the country.

As the question referred to the President of the United States for his final decision, by the treaty of Butte des morts, of the 11th of August, 1827, is acknowledged and

declared to be one of much difficulty, it became indispensably necessary for his Commissioners to make themselves fully acquainted with the merits of the case. They have therefore given the subject a pretty thorough investigation. The following is the result, but given as succinctly as possible:

Previous to 1820, and in that year especially, the Government of the United States took active and efficient measures to facilitate the purchase of a tract of land, in the Northwestern Territory, for the accommodation and future settlement of the New York Indians. This was done for the avowed purpose of carrying into effect beneficially, a compromise with the Stockbridge and Munsee tribes for lands on the White river, purchased of the Delawares and partly owned by the former; and to accommodate them, and their red brethren of New York with a permanent home remote from the vicinity of any white settlement and the temptation to the use of ardent spirits, that "bane of Indian improvement." It was also a desirable object with the Government to place these friendly Indians who had made considerable advances in civilization and improvement, on a distant out-post, where they might serve to check or harmonize the disaffected or hostile savages of that region. Their attachment to the American cause and the assistance they afforded in the late war was also avowed as an additional reason for the extension to them, of the fostering care of the Government. Under such auspices and with the assistance of the United States Agent specially appointed for that purpose, they concluded a treaty with the Winnebago and Menominie nations at Green Bay on the 10th of August, 1821, by which the latter ceded, released and quit claimed to the former all their right, interest and claim to the land comprehended within and described by the following boundaries, viz: "Beginning at the foot of the rapids on the Fox river, usually called the Grand Kakalin; thence up said river to the rapids at the Winnebago lake, and from the river extending back in this width on each side to the northwest and to the southeast equidistant with the lands claimed by the said Me-

nominie and Winnebago nations of Indians." The right of hunting and fishing was reserved to the Winnebagoes and Menominies, but in the exercise of that right, they were to commit no waste or depredation on such lands as might be under improvement by the New York Indians. This cession was in consideration of two thousand dollars; Five hundred of which were paid at the time, the receipt of which is acknowledged in the treaty. Fifteen hundred dollars were to have been paid within one year. This sum was satisfactorily paid and a receipt given in September, 1822.

The acquisition, by this treaty, did not give perfect satisfaction to every portion of the New York Indians. The smallness of the tract and its distance from Green Bay appear to have been among the most prominent causes of uneasiness. They were therefore prompted to solicit the Government for its aid in procuring an extension of the cession. To this solicitation the Government promptly gave its assent and efficiently aided them in the accomplishment of their object; directed rations to be issued to their deputation; recommended them to the attention and kindness of all officers of the Government, and appointed an Agent to superintend the negotiation on the part of the United States. Thus encouraged and sustained they concluded a treaty with the Menominie nation under the superintendence of a United States Agent specially appointed for that purpose, at Green Bay on the 23rd of September, 1822. By this treaty the Menominies ceded, released and quit claimed to the New York Indians all their right, title, interest and claim to a large tract of country containing at least five millions of acres, rather undefined, but limited southwesterly by lands ceded to them the year before, by the Winnebagoes and Menominies, and by the Mannawahkiah (supposed to be the Minnewawkie) river, easterly and northeasterly by lake Michigan and the Bay des Enock, northerly and northwesterly by the height of land between the waters of lake Superior and those running into Green Bay and lake Michigan. This cession was made in consideration of three thousand dollars, — one thousand of which was paid at the time, as

acknowledged by the treaty; Nine hundred and fifty dollars were paid and receipted on the 18th of September 1824. The remaining one thousand and fifty dollars were paid and receipted on the 13th of November 1824. By the second article of this treaty the New York Indians promised and agreed to and with the Menominies that they should have the free permission and privilege of occupying and residing upon the lands therein ceded, in common with them, provided that the Menominie nation should not in any manner infringe upon any settlements or improvements which might be made by the New York Indians. This mode of drafting the articles of cession might have been intended as a mean to "keep off the long finger nails of the white people." Indeed there was some evidence to show that this was the intention of both parties. But as the several parts of the same instrument, referring to the same subject matter, and perfected at the same time, constitute but one deed, the cession of the whole in one clause, and the retro-cession of a moiety by another, and by the same deed, cannot amount to any thing more than the grant of one moiety, and the reservation of the other. For it would be absurd to say that a party is divested of the whole, and reinvested with the moiety, *eo instanti* and by the same deed. The tenure by which the estate is held, as well as the nature of the estate, cannot be changed by this mode of conveyance. For as title by occupancy is the title by which a community of Indians hold their lands, a covenant real, for the full and free occupation in perpetuity, and that attaching to an actual possession, is equivalent to any estate assumed to be granted by the instrument. It follows then that the New York Indians acquired a tenancy in common with the Menominies; the same estate which their chiefs have insisted that they had granted and of which they have consented that the President might make partition.

The Council assembled on the 24th and continued from day to day as may appear by the journal to be transmitted as before stated. The Menominies and Winnebagoes asked the privilege of being assisted by Counsel; the Commis-

sioners informed them that they might have the assistance of any counsel they might think proper to select. The Menominies thereupon selected Judge Doty as their counsel. The Winnebagoes concurred in the appointment of Judge Doty as their counsel; but in the afternoon their Chiefs informed the Commissioners that they had selected Counsel for themselves, and named Mr. Baird, a counsellor at law of Green Bay. The Winnebagoes and Menominies having expressed a desire to know the extent of the claim of the New York Indians and with how much they would be content, they gave in their proposition marked *A*. The other party being requested to make their offer, gave in their proposition marked *B*. The New York Indians afterwards made their further proposition marked *C*. The next day the Commissioners submitted in full council their proposition as finally agreed upon by them, and explained to all the parties on the map, the various locations and quantity of land in each. The locations and boundaries then explained are the same as now reported by us.

From this proposition all parties dissented. Judge Doty's argument was given in writing and that, together with the speeches of the Indian chiefs on the subject is entered at length on the journal. They all relate to the validity and extent of the cessions made by the treaties of 1821 and of 1822. As the validity of these cessions has been questioned by Counsel so eminent and influential as those appointed by the Winnebago and Menominie Chiefs, the Commissioners feel it to be their duty briefly to examine the most prominent objections.

To the first cession it is objected now, and has been heretofore, especially by Four legs, that they never gave to the New York Indians liberty to settle above the Little Chute. To this objection it may be answered that the Winnebagoes never claimed to own below the Little Chute nor had they any lodges on the right bank of Fox river or the eastern shore of the lake, and included within the lines of the cession. Four legs has since that time seated himself on the Island at the outlet of the lake. It is fairly inferable from

the report of Mr. Trowbridge to Gov. Cass in 1821 that the Winnebagoes did not even claim as far down the river as the little chute, for when the Menominies had refused to sell to the New York Indians the former "expressed a great deal of sorrow at their answer and proposed to give their brethren of the east the land on the Fox river from the Grand chute to the Winnebago lake, a distance of four and a half miles." It is not probable they would have offered to grant so far down the river and still retain a narrow strip below. The report continues: "Perceiving that the Menominies were astonished at this reply it was thought advisable to adjourn the Council with a view to give them time for reflection. On the following day they met the deputies again and having stated that their minds were changed, proposed to join the Winnebagoes in a cession of the lands from the foot of the Grand Kackalin to the rapids of the Winnebago lake." The treaty made in pursuance of this proposition was signed by Four legs and Black wolf. The same chiefs the next year signed the receipt for the last payment, and they were the only Winnebago chiefs who spoke in Council at our late session. Four legs could not have been deceived or mistaken in the extent or nature of the cession. He is a cunning artful man. He then resided near the outlet of the lake, on the left bank and just above the rapids. From these facts it appears to the Commissioners that the Winnebagoes had no colour of a claim to the lands in question except the right of hunting and fishing on what may be unimproved and which were formerly owned by them.

The validity of the cession of the Menominies by the treaty of 1822, is questioned on two grounds.

1. That all their chiefs did not join in the treaty and some of those who did were not authorized.

2. That they did not intend to sell their lands but only to permit their eastern brethren to come and live among them.

The first objection is answered by a reference to the recognition of the treaty by the whole nation. In the first place they received the several payments and divided them among the nation according to custom. After their chiefs had

sent a remonstrance against the treaty to Gov. Cass to be forwarded to the Government, they received and distributed the last payment in November 1824, and thereupon applied to Major Brevort, the U. S. Agent, to send on a countermand.

The authority in the treaty of 1827, given to the President to establish boundaries between them and the New York Indians admits that some thing was granted to the latter, and other than that granted by the treaty of 1821, for then the boundaries were already established. It is not pretended but the submission to the President's final decision was well understood. This very circumstance then repels the idea of the total invalidity of the instrument.

The second objection is already answered. The instrument does not grant any more than the Menominie chiefs alledge they intended to give, that is, a right in common with them. The Commissioners have so understood it and have acted accordingly. Indian property is generally held and distributed according to the number of polls including all of every age and sex. By this rule the New York Indians being more numerous than the Menominies would be entitled to the greatest share. But in this case the number of polls and the number of acres can have but little influence in making a just partition. The one party are to occupy as husbandmen, the other as hunters, probably for many years yet to come. A comparatively small number of acres will be as valuable to the one as a much larger quantity to the other. The Commissioners therefore propose to set apart to the New York Indians only about three hundred thousand acres, while they leave to the Menominies an immense tract of five or six millions. The tracts so set apart are described on a paper headed "Boundaries of lands at Green Bay, located for the accommodation and settlement of the New York Indians by Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States," and on two maps of that country, all of which are herewith transmitted. It will be perceived by the map that a considerable portion of the lands set apart for the New York Indians is included within the purchase of the Menominies by the United States

in 1827. They are thought to be "just claims" within the intent of the proviso of the 3rd article of the treaty by which the purchase was made. They had before that time made settlements at Duck Creek, Grand Kakalin, &c. Upon that purchase by the United States they became intitled to a common interest with them. The President is therefore authorized by that article to change the boundaries of that purchase so as to include land not exceeding in quantity that set apart therein to the New York Indians. The Commissioners recommend an extension of the boundary on the right bank of the river to the Winnebago Lake. The Winnebagoes have consented to the measure. If not, they have parted with their interest, and it may be made a consideration that the New York Indians release their claim to the United States. The Stockbridge tribe it is understood will release to the United States their claim on the east side of the river on being paid for their improvements. In that event the right bank of the river will be free from Indian claims except the Brothertown tribe. These are farther advanced in civilization and the arts of domestic life than perhaps most of the borderers on a distant frontier.

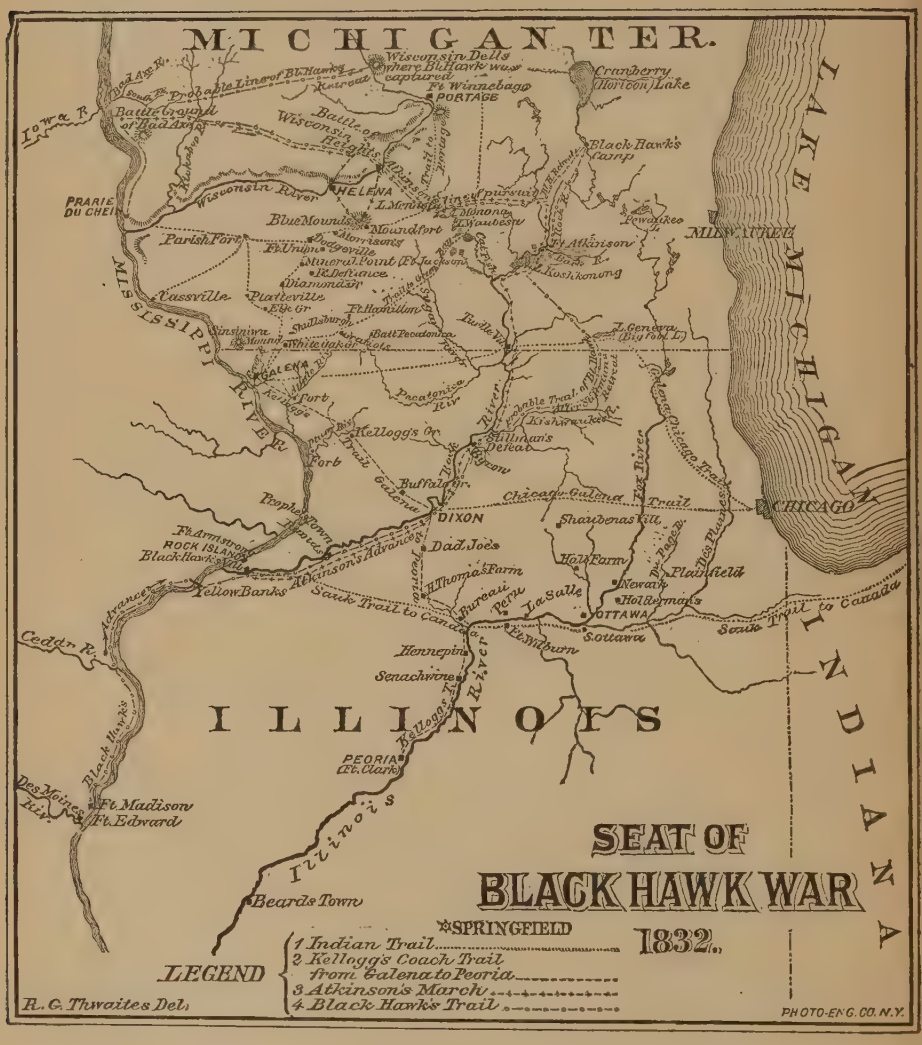
All which is respectfully submitted, 20 Sept. 1830.

Erastus Root.
James McCall.

The Report for the Commissioners drawn by Genl. Root and submitted for approval and signature since we got on board the boat for our respective homes, I have examined, in the imperfect manner which the situation in a steam boat cabbin will admit, in the few hours allotted before seperation. I mention this to show, that it is impossible to investigate the grave subjects of law introduced into the report, at this moment, with the hope of any satisfactory conclusion. So far as I can give the subject consideration *instanter*, I cannot concur in the positions taken in relation to the claim of the New York Indians, and do not agree to the legal deductions drawn from the facts assumed.

I consider the question of the validity of the contracts of 1821 & 1822, a subject reserved by the President for himself to consider, and not submitted to the Commissioners for investigation: nor did they investigate it; therefore I cannot concur in that part of the report which says they did; and I consider all matters in the report connected with this subject as gratuitous and cannot give my sanction to it. So far as the report states the acts, and transactions of the Commissioners, according to their journal, I concur.

JOHN T. MASON,
Sept. 20, 1830.


MICHIGAN TER.
LAKE MICHIGAN
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
Wisconsin Dells
Where Bl.Hawk was captured
Ft Winnebago
PORTAGE
Cranberry (Horicon) Lake
Iowa R.
Battle Ground of Bad Axe
Battle of Wisconsin Heights
Black Hawk's Camp
Pursuit
Trail to Prairie
Wisconsin River
HELENA
PRAIRIE DU CHEI
Blue Mounds
Mound Fort
Milwaukee
Parish Fort
Ft Atkinson
Ft Koshkonong
Mineral Point (Ft Jackson)
Ft Defiance
Diamond Gr
Vassville
Platteville
Elk Gr
Ft Hamilton
Shullsburg
Galena
Fever River
Kellogg's Gr
Kellogg's Trail
Kellogg's Coach Trail from Galena to Peoria
Pecatonica R.
Pecatonica River
Sinsinawa Mound
White Oak Springs
Battle Pecatonica
Turtle Vill
Table Trail of Atkinson's Retreat
Kishwaukee
Gillman's Defeat
Rock River
Chicago Trail
Buffalo Gr
Galena
Peoria Town
DIXON
Shaubenas Village
Shaubenas Kill
Ft Armstrong
ROCK ISLAND
Black Hawk's Village
Dad Joe's
Atkinson's Advance
Hol's Farm
Thomas Farm
Plainfield
Newark
Yellow Banks
Sauk Trail to Canada
Bureau
La Salle
OTTAWA
Hol Brennan's
Ft Wilburn
Ottawa
Cedar R.
Hennepin
Senachwine
Illinois R.
PEORIA
Ft Clark
Des Moines R.
Ft Madison
Ft Edward
Illinois
Beards Town
SEAT OF
BLACK HAWK WAR
SPRINGFIELD
1832.
LEGEND
1 Indian Trail
2 Kellogg's Coach Trail from Galena to Peoria
3 Atkinson's March
4 Black Hawk's Trail
R. C. Thwaites Del.
PHOTO-ENG. CO. N.Y.

THE STORY OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR.[1]

BY THE EDITOR.

The First Campaign.

Although many of its incidents were paltry enough, few events in the early history of the Northwest were as picturesque, as tragical, or as fraught with weighty consequence, as the Black Hawk War. Certainly none have been so persistently misrepresented for partisan purposes. Immediately after the close of the war, numerous persons who had served with the army hastened to record their impressions in the frontier newspapers and in book form. These publications seem chiefly to have been designed as electioneering documents to "boom" the war records of certain of

[1] The following authorities have been consulted, in addition to numerous biographies, newspaper files, manuscript letters, journals, and reports in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society: Drake's *The Great Indian Chief of the West: or, Life and Adventures of Black Hawk* (Cincinnati, 1854, published anonymously); Wakefield's *History of the War between the United States and the Sac and Fox Nations of Indians* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834); *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk, dictated by himself* (Boston, 1834) — this account purports to have been dictated by the chief to Antoine le Claire (half-breed), United States interpreter for the Sacs and Foxes, in August, 1833, and afterward edited and published by J. B. Patterson, and is dedicated by Black Hawk himself to Gen. Henry Atkinson; second edition of the foregoing, with appendix giving an account of the death and burial of Black Hawk (St. Louis, 1882); Governor Reynolds's *Pioneer History of Illinois* (2d ed., Chicago, 1887), and his *My Own Times* (2d ed., Chicago, 1879); Governor Ford's *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854); Davidson and Stuvé's *Complete History of Illinois* (Springfield, Ill., 1874); Moses's *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (vol. i., Chicago, 1889); Blanchard's *History of Illinois, with Historical Map* (Chicago, 1883); Armstrong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, Ill., 1887); and the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vols. i–xi.

the officials engaged in the service, and correspondingly to belittle the deeds of others. This gave rise to acrimonious controversies, continuing through a score or more of years, conducted through the mediums of published documentary collections, speeches, newspapers, and unpublished letters. Even at this late day a few well-preserved Black Hawk veterans are still living, who occasionally address pioneer gatherings and dictate reminiscences for the press, which are well-intentioned enough but must be taken with a grain of allowance, for they smack of the partisan predilections of a half century ago. As the result of these prejudiced accounts, there have been developed in the public mind vague and in a great measure incorrect notions of the war, its causes, its incidents, and the relative merits of its chief participants. It is the attempt of this paper to dispel, if may be, some of these errors by presenting a sketch of the famous uprising, in the preparation of which partisan sympathy has not entered, the truth alone being sought from original sources.

On the third of November, 1804, the United States government concluded a treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians, by which, mainly for the paltry annuity of one thousand dollars, the confederacy ceded to the whites fifty million acres of land, comprising in general terms the eastern third of the present state of Missouri, and the territory lying between the Wisconsin river on the north, the Fox river of the Illinois on the east, the Illinois on the southeast, and the Mississippi on the west. There was an unfortunate clause in this compact — article 7 — which became one of the chief causes of the Black Hawk War. Instead of obliging the Indians at once to vacate the ceded territory, it was stipulated that, "as long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property" — that is to say, public land — "the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living or hunting upon them."[1]

Within the limits of the cession was the chief seat of Sac

[1] *Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian tribes* (Wash., 1837), p. 109.

power[1] — a village lying on the north side of Rock river, three miles above its mouth and the same distance south of Rock island, in the Mississippi. It was picturesquely situated, contained the principal cemetery of the nation, and was populated by about five hundred families, being one of the largest Indian towns on the continent. The soil there was alluvial in its composition, producing enormous crops of corn and pumpkins, and the aboriginal villagers took great pride in a rudely-cultivated tract some three thousand acres in extent, lying north of the town and parallel with the Mississippi river.

From the beginning of the present century the principal character in this village was Makataimeshekiakiak, or the Black Sparrow Hawk — commonly styled Black Hawk. Born at the Sac village in 1767, he was neither an hereditary nor an elected chief, but was by common consent the leader of his village. Although not possessed of superior physical, moral, or intellectual endowments, the force of circumstances caused him to become a national celebrity in his own day and a conspicuous figure in western history for all time. He was a restless, ambitious savage, possessed of some of the qualities of successful leadership, but without the capacity to attain the highest honors in the Sac and Fox confederacy. He early became a malcontent, jealous of Keokuk, Wapello, Morgan, and the other constituted chiefs, continually sought excuses for openly differing with them on questions of policy, and in council arrayed his followers against them. He was much of a demagogue, and aroused the passions of his people by appeals to their prejudices and superstitions. It is probable that he was never, in the exercise of this policy, dishonest in his motives. Doubtless he was sincere in the opinions he

[1] The allied Sacs and Foxes had, from the middle of the eighteenth century, occupied the banks of the Mississippi, between the mouths of the Missouri and the Wisconsin. The confederation, in times of peace, was more nominal than real. There was much jealous bickering between the tribes. In general, the Foxes, who occupied the west bank, and were the smallest tribe numerically, were more conciliatory toward the whites than were the Sacs, who dwelt chiefly along the east bank.

championed. But he was easily influenced by the British military and commercial agents,— who were continually engaged, previous to the war of 1812–15, in cultivating a spirit of hostility between the Northwestern tribes and the Americans,— and was led by them always to consider himself under the special protection of the "British father" (general military agent) at Malden.[1] A too-confiding disposition was ever leading his judgment astray. He was readily duped by those who, white or red, were interested in deceiving him. The effect of his daily communication with the Americans was to often rudely shock his high sense of honor, while the uniform courtesy of the treatment accorded him upon his annual begging visit to Malden, contrasted strangely, in his eyes, with his experiences with many of the inhabitants on the Illinois border.

Black Hawk was about five feet, four or five inches in height, and rather spare as to flesh; his somewhat pinched features exaggerated the prominence of the cheek-bones of his race; he had a full mouth, inclined to be somewhat open when at rest; a pronounced Roman nose; fine "piercing" eyes, often beaming with a kindly and always with a thoughtful expression; no eyebrows; a high, full forehead; a head well thrown back, with a pose of quiet dignity, and his hair plucked out, with the exception of the scalp-lock, in which, on ceremonial occasions, was fastened a bunch of eagle feathers.[2] The conservative braves of the confederacy, who were friendly to the Americans, regarded the

[1] In his *Autobiography*,— probably authentic in the main, but written in a stilted style which we doubtless owe to the editor, Patterson,— Black Hawk calls the president at Washington his "great father," and the agent at Malden his "British father." *Ford*, p. 110, *note*, questions the accuracy of the autobiography; he says that "Black Hawk knew little, if anything, about it;" that it "was written by a printer, and was never intended for anything but a catch penny publication," and that it is a "gross perversion of facts." Later historians, not as strong Indian-haters as Ford, have taken a more favorable view of the book. My references in this paper are to the original edition of 1834.

[2] An admirable original portrait of Black Hawk, by R. M. Sully, painted in 1833 while the subject was a prisoner at Fortress Monroe, hangs in the portrait gallery of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Hawk with kindly compassion. He was thought by them to be misguided, to be the credulous catspaw for others, but his sincerity was not often doubted. His own followers, who, from the closeness of their intercourse with the Canadian authorities, were known as "the British band," appear as a rule to have held him in the highest regard.[1]

At the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States, in 1812, Black Hawk naturally sided with Tecumseh and the British, and, accompanied by a band of two hundred Sac braves, served under the great Shawanee chief until the death of the latter at the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.[2] Black Hawk — who had, in company with the Pottawatomie chiefs, Shaubena and Billy Caldwell, been near to Tecumseh when he fell — at once hurried home. He would, he tells us in his autobiography, have remained quiet thereafter, until the close of the war, but for a fatal injury which had during his absence been inflicted by a party of white ruffians upon an aged friend whom he had left behind at the village. In consequence of this outrage, it was the thirteenth of May, 1816 — nearly eighteen months after the signing of the treaty of Ghent — before the British band of the Sacs could be induced to cease their retaliatory border forays along the upper Mississippi and sign a treaty of peace with the United States.

After burying the hatchet, Black Hawk settled down into the customary routine of savage life — hunting in winter, loafing about his village in summer, improvidently existing from hand to mouth though surrounded by abundance, and occasionally varying the monotony by visits to Malden, from whence he would return laden with provisions, arms, ammunition, and trinkets, his stock of vanity increased by wily flattery and his bitterness against the Americans correspond-

[1] See Reynolds's *My Own Times*, p. 204, for his estimate of Black Hawk. *Ford*, who himself served in the Black Hawk War, says, p. 109, "Black Hawk was distinguished for courage, and for clemency to the vanquished. He was an Indian patriot, a kind husband and father, and was noted for his integrity in all his dealings with his tribe and with the Indian traders. He was firmly attached to the British, and cordially hated the Americans."

[2] See Cruikshank, on Black Hawk's record in the war of 1812–15, *ante*, pp. 141, 142.

ingly intensified. It is not at all surprising that he should have hated the Americans. They brought him nought but evil. The even tenor of his life was continually being disturbed by them, and a cruel and causeless beating which some white settlers gave him in the winter of 1822-23 was an insult which he treasured up against the entire American people.

In the summer of 1823, squatters, covetous of the rich fields cultivated by the British band, began to take possession of them. The treaty of 1804 had guaranteed to the Indians the use of the ceded territory so long as the lands remained the property of the United States and were not sold to individuals. The frontier line of homestead settlement was still fifty or sixty miles to the east; the country between had not yet been surveyed, and much of it not explored; the squatters had no rights in this territory, and it was clearly the duty of the general government to protect the Indians within it so long as no sales were made. The Sacs would not have complained had the squatters settled in other portions of the tract, and not sought to steal the village which was their birthplace and contained the cemetery of their tribe.[1] These were outrages of the most flagrant nature. Indian cornfields were fenced in by the intruders, squaws and children were whipped for venturing beyond the bounds thus set, lodges were burned over the heads of the occupants. A reign of terror ensued, in which the frequent remonstrances of Black Hawk to the white authorities were in vain. The evil grew worse year by year. When the Indians returned each spring from their winter's hunt they found their village more of a wreck than when they had left it in the fall. It is surprising that they acted so peacefully while the victims of such harsh treatment.

[1] "I had an interview with Keokuk [head chief of the confederacy], to see if this difficulty could not be settled with our Great Father, and told him to propose to give any other land that our Great Father might choose, even our lead mines, to be peaceably permitted to keep the small point of land on which our village was situated. * * * Keokuk promises to make an exchange if possible." — *Autobiography*, pp. 85, 86.

Keokuk and the United States Indian agent at Fort Armstrong — which had been built on Rock island about 1816 — continually advised peaceful retreat across the Mississippi. But Black Hawk was stubborn as well as romantic, and his people stood by him when he appealed to their love of home and veneration for the graves of their kindred. He now began to claim that the Sac and Fox representatives to the council which negotiated the treaty of 1804 never consented that the land on which Black Hawk's village stood should be the property of the United States.[1] This was the weak point in his position. At every treaty to which he had "touched the quill" since that date he had, with the rest of his nation, solemnly re-affirmed the integrity of the compact of 1804; that he understood the nature of its provisions there is no reason to doubt. But this fact he now conveniently ignored.[2] His present views were endorsed by the mischief-making British agent at Malden, by the Winnebago prophet, and by others of his advisers. All of these told him that if it were true the government had not yet bought the site of his village, to hold fast to it and the United States would not venture to remove him by force.[3]

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[1] "After questioning Quashquame [one of the signers of the treaty of 1804] about the sale of the lands, he assured me that he never had consented to the sale of our village."— *Ibid.*, p. 85. Yet Quashquame had signed the treaties of Portage des Sioux (Sept. 13, 1815), and St. Louis (Sept. 3, 1822), wherein the treaty of 1804 was explicitly re-affirmed.

[2] Black Hawk signed the treaties of St. Louis (May 13, 1816), St. Louis (Sept. 3, 1822), and Prairie du Chien (Aug. 19, 1825), each of which re-affirmed the treaty of 1804.

[3] Black Hawk was easily satisfied with an equivocal reply: "I heard that there was a great chief on the Wabash, and sent a party to get his advice. They informed him that we had not sold our village. He assured them, then, that if we had not sold the land on which our village stood, our Great Father would not take it from us. I started early to Malden to see the chief of my British Father, and told him my story. He gave the same reply that the chief on the Wabash had given. * * * I next called on the great chief at Detroit, and made the same statement to him that I had to the chief of our British Father. He gave me the same reply. * * * This assured me that I was right, and determined me to hold out, as I had promised our people."— *Autobiography*, pp. 94, 95.

White Cloud, the prophet, was Black Hawk's evil genius. He was a shrewd, crafty Indian, half Winnebago and half Sac, possessing much influence over both nations from his assumption of sacred talents, and was at the head of a Winnebago village some thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Rock. He had many traits of character similar to those possessed by Tecumseh's brother, but in a less degree. His hatred of the whites was inveterate; he appears to have been devoid of humane sentiments; he had a reckless disposition, and seemed to enjoy sowing the seeds of disorder for the simple pleasure of witnessing a border chaos. He was about forty years of age when his sinister agitation bore fruit; was nearly six feet in height, stout and athletic; had a large, broad face; a short, blunt nose; full eyes, large mouth, thick lips, a full head of shaggy hair, and his general appearance indicated deliberate, self-contented savagery. In council the prophet displayed much zeal and persuasive oratory. In the matter of dress he must at times have been picturesque. An eye-witness, who was in attendance on a Pottawattomie council wherein the prophet was urging the cause of Black Hawk, describes the wizard as dressed in a faultless white buckskin suit, fringed at the seams; wearing a towering head-dress of the same material, capped with a bunch of fine eagle feathers; each ankle girt with a wreath of small sleigh-bells which jingled at every step, while in his nose and ears were ponderous gold rings gently tinkling one against the other as he shook his ponderous head in the warmth of harangue.[1]

In the spring of 1830 Black Hawk and his band returned from an unsuccessful hunt to find their town almost completely shattered, many of the graves plowed over, and the whites more abusive than ever. During the winter the squatters, who had been seven years illegally upon the ground, had finally preëmpted a few quarter-sections of

[1] The name of the prophet, in the Winnebago tongue, was Waubakeeshik, meaning "white eye," having reference to the fact that one of his pupils was without color. Pioneers now living, who remember the prophet, differ in opinion as to whether he was totally blind in that organ. He died among the Winnebagos in 1840 or 1841.

land at the mouth of the Rock, so selected as to cover the village site and the Sac cornfields. This was clearly a trick to accord with the letter but to violate the spirit of the treaty of 1804. There was still a belt, fifty miles wide, of practically-unoccupied territory to the east of the village, and no necessity for disturbing the Sacs in the natural progress of settlement for several years to come.

The indignant Black Hawk at once proceeded to Malden, to pour his sorrows into the ears of his "British father." Here he received additional assurance of the justice of his cause, and upon his return visited the prophet, at whose village he met some of the Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes, who also gave him words of encouragement.

When, therefore, he returned to his village in the spring of 1831, after another gloomy and profitless winter's hunt, and was fiercely warned away by the whites, he, in a firm and dignified manner, notified the settlers that, if they did not themselves remove, he should use force. He informs the readers of his autobiography that he did not mean bloodshed but simply muscular eviction.[1] His announcement was construed by the whites, however, as a threat against their lives; and petitions and messages were showered in by them upon Governor John Reynolds, of Illinois, setting forth the situation in terms of exaggeration that

[1] "The white people brought whiskey into our village, made our people drunk, and cheated them out of their homes, guns and traps. This fraudulent system was carried to such an extent that I apprehended serious difficulties might take place unless a stop was put to it. Consequently I visited all the whites and begged them not to sell whiskey to my people. One of them continued the practice openly. I took a party of my young men, went to his home, and took his barrel and broke in the head and turned out the whiskey. I did this for fear some of the whites might be killed by my people when drunk."— *Autobiography*, p. 89.

"I now determined to put a stop to it, by clearing our country of the intruders. I went to the principal men and told them that they must and should leave our country, and gave them until the middle of the next day to remove in. The worst left within the time appointed,— but the one who remained represented that his family (which was large) would be in a starving condition if he went and left his crop, and promised to behave well if I would consent to let him remain until fall in order to secure his crop. He spoke reasonably, and I consented."— *Ibid.*, p. 101.

would be amusing were it not that they were the prelude to one of the darkest tragedies in the history of our western border. The governor caught the spirit of the occasion and at once issued a flaming proclamation calling out a mounted volunteer force to "repel the invasion of the British band." These volunteers, sixteen hundred strong, co-operated with ten companies of regulars under General Edmund P. Gaines, the commander of the western division of the army, in a demonstration before Black Hawk's village on the twenty-fifth of June.[1]

During that night the Indians, in the face of this superior force, quietly withdrew to the west bank of the Mississippi, where they had previously been ordered. On the thirtieth they signed a treaty of capitulation and peace, with General Gaines and Governor Reynolds, solemnly agreeing never to return to the east side of the river without express permission of the United States government.[2]

The rest of the summer was spent by the evicted savages in a state of misery. It being now too late to raise another crop of corn and beans, they suffered much for the actual necessaries of life.

Another difficulty soon arose. The previous year (1830), a party of Menomonees and Sioux had murdered some of the British band. A few weeks after the removal, Black Hawk and a large war party of the Sacs ascended the river and, in retaliation, massacred, scalped, and fearfully mutilated every member but one of a party of twenty-eight Menomonees who were encamped on an island nearly opposite Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien. General Joseph Street, the Indian agent at that post, on the complaint of the Menomonees, demanded that the Sac murderers be de-

[1] "It is astonishing, the war-spirit the western people possess. As soon as I decided to march against the Indians at Rock Island, the whole country, throughout the northwest of the state, resounded with the war clamor. Everything was in a bustle and uproar. It was then eighteen or twenty years since the war with Great Britain and these same Indians, and the old citizens inflamed the young men to appear in the tented field against the old enemy."—Reynolds's *My Own Times*, p. 209.

[2] See full text of treaty.—*Ibid.*, pp. 218, 219.

livered to him for trial, under existing treaty provisions. As none of the Menomonees who had murdered his people had been given up, and his foray was, according to the rules of savage warfare, one of just reprisal, Black Hawk declined to accede, thereby clearly rebelling against the United States government through its Indian department.

Neapope, who was the second in command of the British band, had, prior to the eviction, gone upon a visit to Malden, and returned to his chief in the fall, by the way of the prophet's town, with glowing reports of proffered aid from the British, the Winnebagoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, and the Pottawatomies, in the regaining of the village.[1] Neapope, who was possessed of much military genius, was an ardent disciple of the prophet, as well as a reckless mischief-maker on his own account.[2]

The advice of White Cloud was, that Black Hawk should proceed to the prophet's town the following spring and raise a crop of corn, assurances being given him that by autumn the alleged allies would be ready to join the Sac leader in a general movement against the whites in the valley of the Rock.

Relying upon these rose-colored representations, Black

[1] "He (Neapope) informed me, privately, that the prophet was anxious to see me, as he had much good news to tell me, and that I would hear good news in the spring from our British father. 'The prophet requested me to inform you of all the particulars. I would much rather, however, you should see him, and learn all from himself. But I will tell you, that he has received expresses from our British father, who says that he is going to send us guns, ammunition, provisions, and clothing, early in the spring. The vessels that bring them will come by way of Mil-wa-ke. The prophet has likewise received wampum and tobacco from the different nations on the lakes — Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies; and as for the Winnebagoes, he has them all at his command. We are going to be happy once more.'" — *Autobiography*, p. 109.

[2] Neapope (pronounced *Nah-pope*) means "soup." He was regarded as something of a curiosity among his fellows, because he used neither whisky nor tobacco. Being a "medicine man," he was in demand at feasts and councils as an agency through which "talks" could be had direct with the Great Spirit. He had the reputation of being better versed in the Sac traditions than any other member of the tribe. His history after the close of the Black Hawk War is unknown.

Hawk spent the winter on the then deserted site of old Fort Madison, on the west bank of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Des Moines, engaged in quietly recruiting his band. The urgent protests of Keokuk, who feared that the entire Sac and Fox confederacy would become implicated in the war for which the Hawk seemed to be preparing, but spurred the jealous and obstinate partisan to renewed endeavors.[1]

At this period the territory embraced in the Sac and Fox cession of 1804 was an almost unbroken wilderness of alternating prairies, oak groves, rivers, and marshes. The United States government had not surveyed any portion of it, nor had it been much explored by white hunters or pioneers, while the Indians themselves were acquainted with but narrow belts of country along their accustomed trails. In the lead regions about Galena and Mineral Point, there were a few trading posts and small mining settlements. An Indian trail along the east bank of the Mississippi connected Galena and Fort Armstrong, on Rock island. A coach road, known as "Kellogg's trail," opened in 1827, connected Galena with Peoria and the settlements in southern and eastern Illinois. A daily mail coach traveled this, the only wagon road north of the Illinois river, and it was often crowded with people going to and from the mines, which were the chief source of wealth for the northern pioneers. Here and there along this road lived a few people engaged in entertaining travelers and keeping stage teams — "Old Man" Kellogg, at Kellogg's grove; a Mr. Winter, on Apple river; John Dixon, at Dixon's ferry, on Rock river; "Dad Joe," at Dad Joe's grove; Henry Thomas, on West Bureau creek; Charles S. Boyd, at Boyd's grove, and two or three others of less note. Indian trails traversed the country in many directions, between the villages of the several bands and their hunting and fishing grounds, and they were used as public thoroughfares by

[1] "Keokuk, who has a smooth tongue and is a great speaker, was busy in persuading my band that I was wrong, and thereby making many of them dissatisfied with me. I had one consolation, for all the women were on my side, on account of their cornfields."— *Autobiography*, p. 98.

whites and reds alike.[1] One of these connected Galena with Chicago, by the way of Big Foot's Pottawattomie village, at the head of the body of water now known as Lake Geneva. There was another, but slightly traversed, between Dixon's and Chicago. The mining settlements were also connected by old and new trails, and two well-traveled ways led respectively to Fort Winnebago, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and to Fort Howard, on the lower Fox. In Illinois, the most important aboriginal highway was the great Sac trail, extending in almost an air-line across the state from Black Hawk's village to the south shore of Lake Michigan, and thence to Malden; over this deep-beaten path the British band made their frequent pilgrimages to the British agency.

Between Galena and the Illinois river, the largest settlement was on Bureau creek, where some thirty families were gathered. Small aggregations of cabins were to be found at Peru, La Salle, South Ottawa, Newark, Holderman's grove, and a little cluster of eight or ten on Indian creek. The lead-mining colonies in Michigan Territory (now Wisconsin) were chiefly clustered about Mineral Point and Dodgeville.[2] At the mouth of Milwaukee river, on Lake Michigan, Solomon Juneau was still monarch of all he surveyed, while at Chicago there was a population of but two or three hundred, housed in primitive abodes nestled under the shelter of Fort Dearborn. Scattered between these settlements were a few widely-separated farms, managed in a crude, haphazard fashion; squatters were more numerous than homesteaders, and at best very little attention was paid to metes and bounds.

The settlers were chiefly hardy backwoodsmen who had graduated from the Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana clearings, and come west to better their fortunes, or because neighbors were getting too numerous. They were very poor, owning but little more than their cabins, the scanty clothing they wore, a few rough tools, teams of

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 230, on the evolution of highways from Indian trails.

[2] See map of lead mines in 1829, *Ibid.*, p. 400.

"scrub" horses or yokes of cattle, and some barnyard stock. They were, for the most part, in the prime of life, enterprising, bold, daring, skilled marksmen, and accustomed to exposure, privations and danger. There were no schools, and the only religious instruction received by these rude pioneers was that given by adventurous missionaries who penetrated these wildernesses with the self-sacrificing energies of the fathers of the church, making up in zeal what they lacked in culture.

But upon the heels of these worthies had come thieves, counterfeiters, cut-throats, social outlaws from the east. By nature aggressive, they too often gave to the community a character of wild and lawless adventure. Such men are always upon the frontiers of civilization, and the Indians, from being more frequently brought into collision with these than with the more conservative majority, are apt naturally to form an opinion of our race that is far from flattering.[1]

Conditions in Illinois were ripe for an Indian war. Many elements in the white population saw benefits to be derived from it. It would give occupation to the small but noisy class of pioneer loafers, and cause government money to circulate freely; to the numerous and respectable body of Indian-haters — persons who had at some time suffered in person or property from the red savages, and had come to regard them as little better than wild beasts — it offered a chance for reprisal; to the political aspirant, a brilliant foray presented opportunities for the achievement of personal popularity, and indeed the Black Hawk War was long the chief stock in trade of many a subsequent statesman; while to persons fond of mere adventure, always a large element on the border, it presented superior attractions.

On the sixth of April, 1832, Black Hawk and Neapope, with about five hundred warriors (chiefly Sacs), their squaws and children, and all their belongings, crossed the Missis-

[1] Nicolay and Hay, in their *Abraham Lincoln — A History*, i., chaps. ii. and iii., give a graphic picture of pioneer life in Illinois in 1830; but their account of the Black Hawk War, *Ibid.*, chap. v., unfortunately contains numerous errors.

sippi at the Yellow Banks, below the mouth of the Rock, and invaded the state of Illinois. The results of the Hawk's negotiations during the winter, with the Winnebagoes and the Pottawattomies, had not been of an encouraging nature; he now suspected that the representations of the prophet and Neapope were exaggerated, and his advance up the west bank of the Mississippi, from Fort Madison, was accordingly made with some forebodings; but the prophet met him at the Yellow Banks and gave him such positive reassurances of ultimate success, that the misguided Sac confidently and leisurely continued his journey.[1] He proceeded up the east bank of the Rock as far as the prophet's town — some four hundred and fifty of his braves being well mounted, while the others, with the women, children, and their equipage, remained in the canoes. The intention of the invaders was, as before stated, to raise a crop with the Rock-river Winnebagoes at or immediately above the prophet's town, and prepare for the war-path in the fall, when there would be a supply of provisions. The traveling was so beset by difficulties, heavy rains having made the stream turbulent and the wide river bottoms swampy, that the band was twenty days in covering the intervening forty miles.

Immediately upon crossing the Mississippi, Black Hawk had dispatched messengers to the Pottawattomies, asking them to meet him in council of war on Sycamore creek (now Stillman's run), opposite the present site of Byron. The Pottawattomies were much divided in opinion as to the proper course to pursue. Shaubena, a Pottawattomie chief of much ability, who had formed a sincere respect and attachment for the whites since the war of 1812–15, succeeded in inducing the majority of the braves at least to remain neutral; but the hot-heads, under Big Foot and a despicable half-breed British agent, Mike Girty, were fierce for

[1] "The prophet then addressed my braves and warriors. He told them to follow us, and act like braves, and we had nothing to fear, but much to gain. That the American war chief might come, but would not, nor dare not, interfere with us so long as we acted peaceably. That we were not yet ready to act otherwise. We must wait until we ascend Rock river and receive our reinforcements, and we will then be able to withstand any army!"— *Autobiography*, p. 113.

taking the war-path. Shaubena, after quieting the passions of his followers, set out at once to make a rapid tour of the settlements in the Illinois and Rock valleys, carrying the first tidings of approaching war to the pioneers, even extending his mission as far east as Chicago.[1]

General Henry Atkinson[2] had arrived at Fort Armstrong early in the spring, in charge of a company of regulars, for the purpose of enforcing the demand of the Indian department for the Sac murderers of the Menomonees. He did not learn of the invasion until the thirteenth of April, seven days afterwards, but at once notified Governor Reynolds that his own force was too small for the emergency and a large detachment of militia was essential. The governor immediately issued another fiery proclamation (April 16, 1832), calling for a special levy of mounted volunteers to assemble at Beardstown, on the lower Illinois river, on the twenty-second of the month.

The news spread like wild-fire. Some of the settlers flew from the country in hot haste, never to return; but the majority of those who did not join the state troops hastened into the larger settlements or to other points convenient for assembly, where rude stockade forts were built, the inhabitants forming themselves into little garrisons, with officers and some degree of military discipline. The following named forts figured more or less conspicuously in the ensuing troubles:

In Illinois — Galena, Apple River, Kellogg's Grove, Buffalo Grove, Dixon's, South Ottawa, Wilburn (nearly opposite the present city of Peru), West Bureau, Hennepin, and Clark (at Peoria).

In Michigan Territory (now southwestern Wisconsin) — Union (Dodge's smelting works, near Dodgeville), Defiance (Parkinson's farm, five miles southeast of Mineral Point), Hamilton (William S. Hamilton's smelting works, now Wiota), Jackson (at Mineral Point), Blue Mounds (one and a half miles south of East Blue Mound), Parish's (at Thomas J. Parish's smelting works, now Wingville), Cassville, Platteville, Gratiot's Grove, Diamond Grove, White Oak Springs, Old Shullsburg, and Elk Grove.

Fort Armstrong was soon a busy scene of preparation. St. Louis was at the time the only government supply depot

[1] See Matson's *Memories of Shaubena* (Chicago, 1880).

[2] The Indians called him "White Beaver."

on the upper Mississippi; and limited transportation facilities, and the bad weather incident to a backward spring, greatly hampered the work of collecting troops, stores, boats, and camp equipage. General Atkinson, however, was energetic and possessed of much executive ability, and overcame these difficulties as rapidly as possible. He had military skill, courage, perseverance, and knowledge of Indian character, and during his preparations for the campaign took pains personally to assure himself of the peaceful attitude of those Sacs and Foxes not members of the British band. He also sent two sets of messengers to Black Hawk, ordering him to withdraw at once to the west bank of the river, on the peril of being driven there by force of arms. To both messages, the Sac leader, now blindly trusting in the prophet, sent defiant answers.[1]

Meanwhile volunteers had been easily recruited amid the general excitement, and rendezvoused at Beardstown. They were organized into four regiments, under the commands respectively of Colonels John Thomas, Jacob Fry, Abraham B. Dewitt, and Samuel M. Thompson; a spy (or scout) battalion under Major James D. Henry; and two "odd battalions" under Majors Thomas James and Thomas Long.[2] The entire force, some sixteen hundred strong — all

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[1] "Another express came from the White Beaver [Atkinson], threatening to pursue us and drive us back, if we did not return peaceably. This message roused the spirit of my band, and all were determined to remain with me and contest the ground with the war chief, should he come and attempt to drive us. We therefore directed the express to say to the war chief, 'If he wished to fight us, he might come on!' We were determined never to be driven, and equally so, not to make the first attack, our object being to act only on the defensive."— *Autobiography*, p. 114.

Wakefield, pp. 10–12, gives an interesting and graphic report of a visit to Black Hawk's camp at the prophet's town, made April 25-27, by Henry Gratiot, Indian agent for the Rock-river band of Winnebagoes. Gratiot bore one of the messages from Atkinson, which Black Hawk declined to receive. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., p. 336; x., pp. 235, 493, for details of this mission, and sketch of Gratiot.

[2] See roster in *Armstrong*, appendix. Abraham Lincoln, afterwards president of the United States, was captain of a company in the Fourth (Thompson's) regiment. Wakefield, the historian, served in Henry's spy

horsemen except three hundred who had been enlisted as infantry, by mistake—was placed under the charge of Brigadier-General Samuel Whiteside, who had previous to this been in the command of frontier rangers and enjoyed the reputation of being a good Indian fighter. Accompanied by Governor Reynolds, the brigade proceeded to Fort Armstrong, which was reached on the seventh of May, and the volunteers were at once sworn into the United States service by General Atkinson. The governor, who remained with his troops, was recognized and paid as a major-general; while Lieutenant Robert Anderson (later of Fort Sumter fame) was detailed from the regulars to be inspector-general of the Illinois militia.

On the ninth, the start was made, Black Hawk's trail up the east bank of the Rock being pursued by Whiteside and the mounted volunteers. Atkinson followed in boats with cannon, provisions, and the bulk of the baggage; with him were the three hundred volunteer footmen and four hundred regular infantry, the latter gathered from Forts Crawford (Prairie du Chien) and Leavenworth, and under the command of Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards president of the United States.[1] The rest of the baggage was taken by Whiteside's land force in wagons. The traveling was bad for both divisions. The heavy rains had made the stream

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battalion. Jefferson Davis, later president of the Confederacy, was a lieutenant of Co. B., First United States infantry, which was stationed at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) during January and February, 1832, but Davis himself is on the rolls as "absent on detached service at the Dubuque mines by order of Colonel Morgan." He was absent from his company on furlough, from March 26 to August 18, 1832; hence, it would appear from the records that he took no part in the Black Hawk War further than to escort the chief to Jefferson Barracks. Nevertheless, an anonymous campaign biography of Davis, published at Jackson, Miss., 1851, in the interest of his candidacy for the governorship, and presumably inspired by the candidate himself, says that he "earned his full share of the glories, by partaking of the dangers and hardships of the campaign. Here he remained in the active discharge of his duties, and participating in most of the skirmishes and battles, until shortly after the battle of Bad Axe."

[1] Major William S. Harney, the hero of Cerro Gordo, also served with the regulars, in this campaign.

turbulent, and the men frequently waded breast deep for hours together, pushing the keel and Mackinaw boats against the rapid current and lifting them over the rapids; while in the swamps along the trail the baggage wagons were often mired, and the horsemen obliged to do rough service in pushing and hauling freight through and over the black muck and tangled roots. For many days the troops had not a dry thread upon them, and the tents were found to be of poor quality and but meagre protection from the driving storms on the Illinois prairies.[1]

Whiteside was enabled to out-distance Atkinson. Arriving at the prophet's town he found it deserted and the trail up the river fresh, so he pushed on as rapidly as possible to Dixon's, where he arrived on the twelfth of May. Here he found two independent battalions, three hundred and forty-one men all told, under Majors Isaiah Stillman and David Bailey.[2] They had been at the ferry for some days, with abundance of ammunition and supplies, in which latter Whiteside was now deficient. These commands were not of the regular levy, and objected to joining the main army except on detached service as rangers. The men were imbued with reckless enthusiasm, impatient at the slow advance of the army, and anxious at once to do something brilliant, feeling confident that all that was necessary to end the war was for them to be given a chance to meet the enemy in open battle.

They obtained Whiteside's permission to go forward in the capacity of a scouting party, and set out on the morning of the thirteenth, under Stillman. Late in the afternoon of the fourteenth they went into camp in a small clump of open timber, three miles southwest of the mouth of Sycamore creek. It was a peculiarly strong position for defense. The troop completely filled the grove, which was

[1] A great portion of the volunteers had been raised in the backwoods, and rafting and swimming streams were familiar to them. — Reynolds's *My Own Times*, p. 226.

[2] This made the total volunteer force 1,975 men. The Stillman and Bailey battalions were afterwards organized as the Fifth regiment, under Colonel James Johnson.

surrounded by a perfectly clear prairie, slightly undulating. With an Indian enemy disliking to fight in the open, the troopers might readily have repulsed ten times their own number.

Black Hawk had tarried a week at the prophet's town, holding fruitless councils with the wily and vacillating Winnebagoes. He now learned positively for the first time that he had been deceived. But he pushed on to keep his engagement at Sycamore creek, faint at heart, though vaguely hoping better things of the Pottawattomies. He went into camp with his principal men, in a large grove near the mouth of the creek, met the chiefs of the tribe, and soon found that Shaubena's counsels had rendered it impossible to gain over to his cause more than about one hundred of the hot-head element. Black Hawk asserted in after years that he had at this juncture fully resolved to return at once to the west of the Mississippi should he be again summoned to do so by General Atkinson, and never more disturb the peace of the white settlements. As a parting courtesy to his guests, however, he was making arrangements on the evening of May 14 to give them a dog feast, when the summons came in a manner he little anticipated.

The white-hating faction of the Pottawattomies was encamped on the Kishwaukee river some seven miles north of Black Hawk, and with them the majority of his own party. The Hawk says that not more than forty of his braves were with him upon the council ground. Toward sunset, in the midst of his preparations, he was informed that a party of white horsemen were going into camp three miles down the Rock. It was Stillman's corps, but the Sac thought it was a small party headed by Atkinson — being then unaware of the size of the force which had been placed in the field against him — and sent out three of his young men with a white flag, to parley with the new arrivals and convey his offer to meet the White Beaver (Atkinson) in council.[1]

The rangers, who had regarded the expedition as a big

[1] *Autobiography*, pp. 117, 118.

frolic, were engaged in preparing their camp, in irregular picnic fashion, when the truce-bearers appeared upon a knoll on the prairie, nearly a mile away. A mob of the troopers rushed out upon the astonished envoys, in helter-skelter form, some with saddles on their horses and some without, and ran the visitors into camp amid a hubbub of yells and imprecations. Black Hawk had sent five other braves to follow the flagmen at a safe distance, and watch developments. This second party was sighted by about twenty of the horsemen, who had been scouring the plain for more Indians, and are said to have been, as were many of Stillman's men at the time, much excited by the too free use of intoxicants. Hot chase was given to the spies, and two of them were killed. The other three galloped back to the council grove and reported to their chief that not only two of their own number, but the three flag-bearers as well, had been cruelly slain. This flagrant disregard of the rules of war caused the blood of the old Sac to boil with righteous indignation. Tearing to shreds the flag of truce which, when the spies broke in upon him, he himself had been preparing to carry to the white camp, he fiercely harangued his thirty-five braves and bade them avenge the blood of their brethren at any risk.

The neutral Pottawattomie visitors at once withdrew from the grove and hastily sped to their villages, while Black Hawk and his party of forty Sacs,[1] securely mounted, sallied forth to meet the enemy. The entire white force, over three hundred strong, was soon seen rushing towards them pell-mell, in a confused mass. The Sacs withdrew behind a fringe of bushes, and their leader hurriedly bade them stand firm. The whites paused on catching a glimpse of the grim array awaiting them; but before they had a chance to turn, the Hawk sounded the war-whoop, and the savages dashed forward and fired. The Sac chief tells us that he thought the charge suicidal when he

[1] "Black Hawk in his book says he had only forty in all, and judging from all I can discover in the premises, I believe the number of warriors were between fifty and sixty."— Reynolds's *My Own Times*, p. 234.

ordered it, but, enraged at the treachery of the troopers, he and all with him were willing to die in order to secure reprisal. On the first fire of the Indians, the whites, without returning the volley, fled in great consternation, pursued by about twenty-five savages, until nightfall ended the chase. But nightfall did not end the rout. The volunteers, haunted by the genius of fear, dashed through their own impregnable camp, leaving everything behind them, plunging madly through swamps and creeks till they reached Dixon's, twenty-five miles away, where they straggled in for the next twenty hours. Many of them did not stop there, but kept on at a keen gallop till they reached their own firesides, fifty or more miles further, carrying the report that Black Hawk and two thousand blood-thirsty warriors were sweeping all northern Illinois with the besom of destruction. The white casualties in this ill-starred foray amounted to eleven killed, while the Indians lost the two spies and but one of the flag-bearers, who had been treacherously shot in Stillman's camp — his companions owing their lives to the fleetness of their ponies.

The flight of Stillman's corps was wholly inexcusable, It should, in any event, have stopped at the camp, which was easily defensible.[1] Stillman, no doubt, exerted himself to his utmost to rally his men, but they lacked discipline and that experience which gives soldiers confidence in their officers and each other. Their worst fault was their dishonorable treatment of bearers of a flag of truce, a symbol which few savage tribes disregard. But for this act of treachery, the Black Hawk War would have been a bloodless demonstration. Unfortunately for our own good name, this violation of the rules of war was more than once repeated by the Americans during the ensuing contest.

[1] "I never was so surprised, in all the fighting I have seen — knowing, too, that the Americans, generally, shoot well — as I was to see this army of several hundreds, retreating without showing fight, and passing immediately through this encampment. I did think that they intended to halt here, or the situation would have forbidden attack by my party, if their number had not exceeded half mine, as we would have been compelled to take the open prairie, whilst they could have picked trees to shield themselves from our fire."— *Autobiography*, p. 122.

From his easy and unexpected victory, Black Hawk conceived a poor opinion of the valor of the militiamen, and at the same time a somewhat exaggerated estimate of the prowess of his own braves. Almost wholly destitute of provisions and ammunition, he felt highly elated at the capture of Stillman's rich stores. Recognizing that war had been forced upon him[1] and was henceforth inevitable, he dispatched scouts to watch the white army while he hurriedly removed his women and children, by the way of the Kishwaukee, to the swampy fastnesses of Lake Koshkonong, near the headwaters of Rock river, in Michigan Territory (now Wisconsin). He was guided thither by friendly Winnebagoes, who deemed the position impregnable. From here, recruited by parties of Winnebagoes and Pottawattomies, Black Hawk descended into northern Illinois, prepared for active border warfare.

The story of Stillman's defeat inaugurated a reign of terror between the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers, and great consternation throughout the entire west. The name of Black Hawk, whose forces and the nature of whose expedition were greatly exaggerated, became coupled the country over with stories of savage cunning and cruelty, his name serving as a household bugaboo. Shaubena and his friends again rode post-haste through the settlements,

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[1] "I had resolved upon giving up the war, and sent a flag of peace to the American war chief, expecting as a matter of right, reason and justice that our flag would be respected, (I have always seen it so in war among the whites), and a council convened, that we might explain our grievances having been driven from our village the year before, without permission to gather the corn and provisions, which our women had labored hard to cultivate, and ask permission to return,—thereby giving up all idea of going to war against the whites. Yet, instead of this honorable course which I have always practiced in war, I was forced into war, with about five hundred warriors, to contend against three or four thousand.

"The supplies that Neapope and the prophet told us about, and the reinforcements we were to have, were never more heard of, and it is but justice to our British father to say, were never promised — his chief having sent word in lieu of the lies that were brought to me, 'for us to to remain at peace, as we could accomplish nothing but our own ruin, by going to war."— *Autobiography*, pp. 123, 124.

sounding the alarm. Many of the settlers had been lulled into a sense of security by the long calm following the invasion at Yellow Banks, and had returned to their fields. But there was now a hurrying back into the forts. They flew like chickens to cover, on the warning of the Hawk's foray. The rustle in the underbrush of a prowling beast; the howl of a wolf on the prairie; the fall of a forest bough; the report of a hunter's gun, were sufficient in this time of panic to blanch the cheeks of the bravest men, and cause families to fly in the agony of fear for scores of miles, leaving all their valuables behind them.[1]

May 15, the day of the defeat, Whiteside, with one thousand four hundred men, proceeded to the field of battle, and buried the dead. On the nineteenth, Atkinson and the entire army moved up the Rock, leaving Stillman's corps at Dixon to care for the wounded and guard the supplies. But the army was no sooner out of sight than Stillman's cowards added infamy to their record, by deserting their post and going home. Atkinson hastily returned to Dixon with the regulars, leaving Whiteside to follow Black Hawk's trail up the Kishwaukee.

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[1] *Wakefield* relates some amusing anecdotes of the scare, pp. 56-60. Here is one of them, duly vouched for: "In the hurried rout that took place at this time, there was a family that lived near the [Iroquois] river [in northeastern Illinois]; they had no horses, but a large family of small children; the father and mother each took a child; the rest were directed to follow on foot as fast as possible. The eldest daughter also carried one of the children that was not able to keep up. They fled to the river where they had to cross. The father had to carry over all the children, at different times, as the stream was high, and so rapid the mother and daughter could not stem the current with such a burden. When they all, as they thought, had got over, they started, when the cry of poor little Susan was heard on the opposite bank, asking if they were not going to take her with them. The frightened father again prepared to plunge into the strong current for his child, when the mother seeing it, cried out, 'never mind Susan; we have succeeded in getting ten over, which is more than we expected at first — and we can better spare Susan than you, my dear.' So poor Susan, who was only about four years old, was left to the mercy of the frightful savages. But poor little Susan came off unhurt; one of the neighbors, who was out hunting, came along and took charge of little Susan, the eleventh, who had been so miserably treated by her mother."

But Whiteside's men now began to weary of soldiering. They declared that the Indians had gone into the unexplored and impenetrable swamps of the north, and could never be captured; even were that feat possible, Illinois volunteers, they asserted, were not compelled to serve out of the state, in Michigan Territory; they also claimed to have enlisted for but one month. After two or three days' fruitless skirmishing, and before reaching the state line, the council of officers determined to abandon search and marched southward to Ottawa, where they were, at their own request, mustered out of the service by Governor Reynolds on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of May. On their way from the Kishwaukee to Ottawa, the militiamen stopped at the Davis farm on Indian creek, where a terrible massacre of whites had occurred a few days before, and the mutilated corpses of fifteen men, women and children were lying on the greensward, unsepultured. This revolting spectacle, instead of nerving the troops to renewed action in defense of their homes, appears to have still further disheartened them.[1]

And thus did the first campaign of the war end, as it had begun, with an exhibition of rank cowardice on the part of the Illinois militia.

The Closing Campaign.

Governor Reynolds was active, and at once arranged for a fresh levy of "at least two thousand" men to serve through the war, to rendezvous at Beardstown, June 10; while the general government ordered one thousand regulars under General Winfield Scott to proceed from the seaboard to the seat of war, Scott being directed to conduct future operations against the enemy. Meanwhile, at General Atkinson's earnest appeal, three hundred mounted volunteer rangers, under Henry Frye as colonel and James D. Henry as lieutenant-colonel, agreed to remain in the field to pro-

[1] See Governor Reynolds's statement of the case, in *My Own Times*, pp. 238, 239.

tect the northern line of Illinois settlements until the new levy could be mobilized.[1]

Black Hawk, upon descending Rock river from Lake Koshkonong, divided his people into war parties — himself leading the largest, about two hundred strong. He was assisted by small scalping parties of Winnebagoes — who were always ready for guerilla butchery when the chance for detection was slight — and by about one hundred Pottawattomies under Mike Girty.

During the irregular hostilities which now broke out in northern Illinois and just across the Michigan (now Wisconsin) border, pending the resumption of the formal campaign, some two hundred whites and nearly as many Indians lost their lives, great suffering was induced among the settlers, and panic among the latter was widespread. Many of the incidents of this partisan strife are rich in historic interest and have been productive of elaborate discussions in the press and in documentary collections, but in a paper of this scope only a few of the most striking events can be alluded to.[2]

On the twenty-second of May a party of thirty Pottawattomies and three Sacs, under Girty, surprised and slaughtered fifteen men, women, and children congregated at the Davis farm, on Indian creek, twelve miles north of Ottawa, Illinois. Two daughters of William Hall — Sylvia, aged seventeen years, and Rachel, aged fifteen — had their lives spared by their captors, and, being taken to Black Hawk's

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[1] General Whiteside enlisted as a private in this battalion. Abraham Lincoln was also a member, being enlisted as a "private horseman," in Captain Elijah Iles's company, May 27. He was mustered out at Ottawa, June 16, when the regular levy had taken the field. June 20 he re-enlisted in Captain Jacob M. Early's company, an independent body of rangers not brigaded, and served throughout the war. Besides these three hundred volunteer rangers, divided into six companies, General Atkinson had some three hundred regulars on Rock river, the entire force available to check the enemy, until the new levy could assemble.

[2] Nearly every volume of *Wis. Hist. Coll.* contains articles and documents bearing on this war, which it would be burdensome to cite here in detail; many of them are invaluable, while some, in the light of later developments, are worthless.

Hawk's stronghold above Lake Koshkonong, were there sold for two thousand dollars in horses and trinkets to White Crow, a Winnebago chief, who had been sent out by Henry Gratiot, sub-agent for the Winnebagoes, to conduct the negotiation. The girls were safely delivered into Gratiot's hands at Blue Mounds, on the third of June.

On the evening of the fourteenth of June, a party of eleven Sacs killed five white men at Spafford's farm, on the Peckatonica river, in what is now La Fayette county, Wisconsin. Colonel Henry Dodge, with twenty-nine men, followed and the next day overtook the savages in a neighboring swamp. A battle ensued lasting but a few minutes, in which the eleven Indians were killed and scalped, while of Dodge's party three were killed and one wounded. The details of no event in the entire war have been so thoroughly discussed and quarreled over as those of this brief but bloody skirmish.[1]

On the twenty-fourth of June, Black Hawk's own party made a desperate attack on Apple River fort, fourteen miles east of Galena, Illinois, which sustained the heavy siege for upwards of an hour, the little garrison displaying remarkable vigor, the women and girls molding bullets, loading pieces, and generally proving themselves border heroines. The red men retired with small loss after laying waste by fire the neighboring cabins and fields. The following day this same war party attacked, with singular ferocity, Major Dement's spy battalion of Posey's brigade, one hundred and fifty strong, at Kellogg's grove, sixteen miles to the east. General Posey came up with a detachment of volunteers to relieve the force and continued the skirmish. The Indians were routed, losing about fifteen killed, while the whites lost but five.[2]

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[1] Notably in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., iv., v., vi., vii., viii., and x.

[2] Kellogg's grove, afterwards Waddams's, and now Timms's, is situated in the southwestern portion of Kent township, Stephenson county, Illinois, about nine miles south of Lena. The five men killed in the skirmish of June 25, 1832, had been buried at different points within the grove. During the summer of 1886 their remains were collected, by order of the county board of supervisors, and decently interred upon a commanding

At Plum River fort, Burr Oak grove, Sinsiniwa Mound, and Blue Mounds, skirmishes of less importance were fought.

The people of the lead-mining settlements in what is now southwestern Wisconsin, deemed themselves peculiarly liable to attack, from the fear that the troops centered on Rock river would drive the enemy upon them across the Illinois border. The news of the invasion at Yellow Banks was received by the miners early in May, and active preparations for defense and offense were at once undertaken. Colonel Henry Dodge, one of the pioneers of the lead region, and an energetic citizen largely interested in smelting, held a commission as chief of the Michigan militia west of Lake Michigan, and assumed direction of military operations north of the Illinois line. With a company of twenty-seven hastily-equipped rangers he made an expedition to Dixon, with a view both to reconnoiter the country and solicit aid from Governor Reynolds's force. He failed in this latter mission, however, and returned to the mines carrying the news of Stillman's defeat.[1] After making preparations for recruiting three additional companies, Dodge proceeded with Indian Agent Gratiot and a troop of

knoll at the edge of the copse, within a half-acre of land which had been deeded to the county for that purpose. With these remains were placed those of five or six other victims of the Black Hawk War, militiamen and civilians, who had been buried where they fell in other portions of the county. A monument costing five hundred dollars was erected by the board over these remains — a shaft thirty feet in height, constructed of light rock quarried within the grove, on three sides of which are marble slabs appropriately inscribed. This monument was formally dedicated, in the presence of twenty-five hundred persons, September 30, 1886, under the auspices of W. R. Goddard post of the G. A. R., located at Lena. Pioneer addresses were delivered by ex-Congressman Henry S. Magoon of Darlington, Wisconsin; Colonel D. F. Hitt of Ottawa, Illinois, and Michael Stoskopf and S. J. Dodds of Freeport, Illinois; while Dr. W. P. Naramore, of Lena, was president of the day.

[1] "General Dodge was camped in the vicinity [Dixon's], on the north side of Rock river, and I wrote him, at night [May 14–15], the facts of Stillman's disaster, and that his frontiers of Wisconsin would be in danger. He returned immediately to Wisconsin."— Reynolds's *My Own Times*, p. 235.

fifty volunteers to White Crow's Winnebago village at the head of Fourth lake, on a point of land now known as Fox's bluff, some four miles northwest of the site of Madison. The Winnebagoes were always deemed a source of danger to the mining settlements, and it was desirable to keep them quiet during the present crisis. Colonel Dodge held council with them on the twenty-fifth of May, and received profuse assurances of their fidelity to the American cause, but the partisan leader appears to have justly placed small reliance upon their sincerity.[1]

Returning from this council, Dodge set out from his headquarters at Fort Union on an active campaign with two hundred mounted rangers enlisted for the war. These men, gathered from the mines and fields, were a free-and-easy set of dare-devils, imbued with the spirit of adventure and an intense hatred of the Indian race. While well disciplined to the extent of always obeying orders when sent into the teeth of danger, they swung through the country with little regard to the rules of the manual, and presented a striking contrast to the habits and appearance of the regulars.

On the third of June they arrived at Blue Mounds, just in time to receive the Hall girls brought in by White Crow. The Crow and his companions being offensive in their demeanor, Dodge had them thrown into the guard-house and held for a time as hostages for the good behavior of the rest of the Fourth-lake band. On the eleventh, he was joined by a small party of Illinois rangers from Galena, under Captain J. W. Stephenson, and the united force proceeded to General Atkinson's recruiting quarters, then at Ottawa, where Dodge conferred with the general as to the

[1] Dodge's "talk" is given in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, i., pp. 416, 417. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., p. 339, for White Crow's taunt flung at Dodge, that the whites were "a soft-shelled breed," and could not fight. For sketch of this chief — whose Indian name was Kaukishkaka (The Blind), he having lost an eye in a brawl — see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, x., pp. 495, 496. Washburne's estimate of him, *Ibid.*, p. 253, is unfavorable; others of his white contemporaries speak with enthusiasm of his strength as a native orator, and his manly bearing.

future conduct of the campaign. After remaining a few days, the rangers returned to the lead mines to complete the defenses there.

In less than three weeks from the date of Stillman's defeat, Atkinson and Reynolds had together recruited and organized a new mounted militia force, and on the fifteenth of June the troops rendezvoused at Fort Wilburn. There were three brigades, respectively headed by Generals Alexander Posey, M. K. Alexander and James D. Henry. Each brigade had a spy battalion. The aggregate strength of this volunteer army was three thousand two hundred, which was in addition to Fry's rangers, half of whom continued their services to protect the settlements and stores west of the Rock river. With these, Dodge's Michigan rangers, and the regular infantry, the entire army now in the field numbered about four thousand effective men.

A party of Posey's brigade was sent in advance from Fort Wilburn to scour the country between Galena and the Rock, and disperse Black Hawk's war party. It was this force that had the brush with the Sacs at Kellogg's Grove on the 25th of June, previously alluded to. Meanwhile, Alexander's and Henry's brigades had arrived overland at Dixon's. When news of the defeat of the Indians at Kellogg's arrived, Alexander was dispatched in haste to Plum river to intercept the fugitives should they attempt to cross the Mississippi at that point; while Atkinson, with Henry and the regulars, remained at Dixon's to await developments. On learning that Black Hawk's main camp was still near Lake Koshkonong, Atkinson at once pushed on up the east bank of the Rock, leaving Dixon on the afternoon of June 27. The main army, now consisting of four hundred regulars and two thousand one hundred volunteer troops, was joined the following day by a party of seventy-five friendly Pottawattomies, who seemed eager to join in the prospective scrimmage.

On the thirtieth, the army crossed the Illinois-Wisconsin boundary about one mile east of the site of Beloit, then the location of the Turtle village of the Winnebagoes, whose

inhabitants had flown at the approach of the column.[1] Sac signs were fresh, for Black Hawk, after his defeat at Kellogg's at the hands of Posey and Dement, had, instead of crossing the Mississippi, fled directly to his stronghold, reaching the Rock above the mouth of the Kishwaukee three or four days in advance of the white army. It was this warm trail that Atkinson's men were now following, with the vehemence of blood-hounds.

At the close of each day, when possible, the troops selected a camp in the timber, were protected by breastworks, and invariably slept on their arms, for there was constant apprehension of a night attack, the rear guard of the savages prowling about in the dark and being frequently fired on by the sentinels.

On the second of July the army arrived at the outlet of Lake Koshkonong. Hastily-deserted Indian camps were found, with white scalps hanging on the poles of the tepees. Scouts made a tour of the lake, but beyond a few stragglers nothing of importance was seen. A few Winnebagoes who were captured gave vague and contradictory testimony, and one of them was shot and scalped for his impertinence. Several succeeding days were spent in fruitless scouting. July 4, Alexander arrived with his brigade, reporting that he had found no traces of red men on the Mississippi. On the sixth, Posey reported with Dodge's squadron.

Dodge was at Fort Hamilton on the twenty-eighth of June, reorganizing his two hundred rangers, when Posey arrived from Kellogg's grove, bringing orders from Atkinson to join forces with Dodge and at once, under Posey's command, to join the main army on the Koshkonong. At Sugar river, Dodge was joined by Stephenson's Galena company and by a party of twenty Menomonees and eight or ten

[1] In the Beloit *Weekly Free Press* of October 15, 1891, and January 21, 1892, Cornelius Buckley discusses in detail the place of crossing the boundary, and the site of Atkinson's camp, which latter he places "near the northeast corner of the southwest quarter of section 25, town 1, and range 12, and 480 rods north of the state line * * * and directly north of the old fair grounds."

white and half-breed scouts under Colonel William S. Hamilton, who was a prominent lead miner and a son of the famous Alexander. This recruited his squadron so that it now numbered about three hundred. Proceeding by the way of the Four Lakes, White Crow and thirty Winnebagoes offered to conduct Posey and Dodge to Black Hawk's camp, and unite with them for that purpose. After advancing through almost impassable swamps for several days, the corps was within short distance of the locality sought, when an express came from Atkinson ordering it to proceed without delay to his camp on Bark river, an eastern tributary of Lake Koshkonong, as he believed the main body of the enemy to be in that vicinity. This order greatly provoked Dodge, but it proved to be singularly opportune. Black Hawk's camp occupied a position very advantageous for defense, at the summit of a steep declivity on the east bank of the Rock, where the river was difficult of passage, being rapid and clogged with boulders.[1] White Crow's solicitude as a guide was undoubtedly caused by his desire to lead this small force, constituting the left wing of the army, into a trap where it might have been badly whipped if not annihilated.

The army was thus formed: Posey's brigade and Dodge's rangers comprised the left wing, on the west side of the Rock; the regulars under Taylor, and Henry's volunteers, were the right wing, commanded by Atkinson in person, and marched on the east bank; while Alexander's brigade, also on the west bank, was the center. Dodge had conceived a poor opinion of Posey's men, and on the arrival of the left wing at headquarters, solicited a change of companions. To secure harmony, Atkinson caused Posey and Alexander to exchange positions.

While the treacherous White Crow had been endeavoring to entrap the left wing, other Winnebagoes informed Atkinson that Black Hawk was encamped on an island in the Whitewater river, a few miles east of the American camp on the Bark. In consequence, the commander was from

[1] The site of the present village of Hustisford, Wisconsin.

the seventh to the ninth of July running a wild-goose chase through the broad morasses and treacherous sink-holes of that region. It was because of this false information that Atkinson had hastily summoned the left wing to his aid, and thus unwittingly saved it in the nick of time from a great danger. The wily Winnebagoes overreached themselves through lack of concert in their lying, for in the meantime the Hawk, startled from his cover by the manœuvering in his neighborhood, fled westward to the Wisconsin river.

Governor Reynolds and several other prominent Illinoisans who were with the army, now become discouraged and left for home by way of Galena, impressed with the opinion that the troops, now in wretched physical condition, almost out of provisions, and floundering aimlessly through the Wisconsin bogs, were pursuing an *ignis-fatuus*, and that Black Hawk could never be captured.[1]

On the same day (July 10), Henry's and Alexander's brigades were dispatched with Dodge's squadron to Fort Winnebago, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, eighty miles to the northwest, for much-needed provisions, it being the nearest supply point. The Second regiment of Posey's brigade, under Colonel Ewing, was sent down the Rock to Dixon, with an officer accidentally wounded; while, with the rest of his troops, Posey was ordered to Fort Ham-

[1] "On the 10th of July, in the midst of a considerable wilderness, the provisions were exhausted, and the army forced to abandon the pursuit of the enemy for a short time. Seeing the difficulties to reach the enemy, and knowing the extreme uncertainty of ever reaching Black Hawk by these slow movements, caused most of the army to believe we would never overtake the enemy. This condition of affairs forced on all reflecting men much mortification, and regret that this campaign also would do nothing. Under these circumstances, a great many worthy and respectable individuals, who were not particularly operative in the service, returned to their home. My staff and myself left the army at the burnt village, on Rock river, above Lake Koshkonong, and returned by Galena to the frontiers and home. When I reached Galena, the Indian panic was still raging with the people there, and I was compelled to order out more troops to protect the citizens -- although the militia of the whole country was in service."-- Reynolds's *My Own Times*, pp. 251, 252.

ilton to guard the mining country, which Dodge's absence had left exposed to the enemy. Atkinson himself fell back to Lake Koshkonong, and built a fort a few miles up the Bark river, on the eastern limit of the present village of Fort Atkinson.

On arrival at Fort Winnebago, the troopers found a number of Winnebago Indians there, all of them full of advice to the white chiefs. There was also at the fort a famous half-breed scout and trader named Pierre Paquette, long in the trusted employ of the American Fur Company. He informed Henry and Dodge of the true location of Black Hawk's stronghold, as White Crow had done, with added information as to its character, and, with twelve Winnebago assistants, was engaged as pilot thither.

While the division was at the fort, there was a stampede of horses from some unknown cause, the animals plunging madly for thirty miles through the neighboring swamps, where upwards of fifty were lost.[1]

Henry and Dodge at once resolved to return to camp by way of the Hustisford rapids, and there engage Black Hawk if possible. But Alexander's men refused to enter upon this perilous expedition, and insisted on obeying Atkinson's orders to return to headquarters by the shortest available route. Alexander easily yielded to his troopers' demands, and the mutinous example would have been successfully imitated in Henry's brigade but for the firmness of that commander, who was a strict disciplinarian. Alexander returned direct to camp, July fifteenth, with the men whose horses had been lost in the stampede, and twelve days' provisions for the main army. The same day, Henry and Dodge, the former in command, started out with twelve days' supplies for their own force, accompanied by Paquette and the Winnebago guides. The ranks had been depleted from many causes, so that roll-call on the sixteenth disclosed but six hundred effective men in Henry's brigade, and about a hundred and fifty in Dodge's squadron.

On the eighteenth, the troopers reached Rock river and

[1] Reynolds's *My Own Times*, pp. 254, 255; also *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, x., p. 314.

found the Winnebago village at which Black Hawk and his band had been quartered, but the enemy had fled. The Winnebagoes insisted that their late visitors were now at Cranberry lake,[1] a half day's march up the river, and the white commanders resolved to proceed thither the following day. They had arrived at the village at noon, and at 2 P. M. Adjutants Merriam of Henry's, and Woodbridge of Dodge's, started south with information of the supposed discovery, to Atkinson's camp, thirty-five miles down the river. Little Thunder, a Winnebago chief, accompanied them as guide. When nearly twenty miles out, and half way between the present sites of Watertown and Jefferson, they suddenly struck a broad, fresh trail trending to the west. Little Thunder became greatly excited, and shouted and gestured vehemently, but the adjutants were unable to understand a word of the Winnebago tongue. When he suddenly turned his horse and dashed back to Henry's camp, they were obliged to hasten after him, as further progress through the tangled thickets and wide morasses without a pilot was inadvisable. Little Thunder had returned to inform his people that the trail of Black Hawk in his flight to the Mississippi had been discovered, and to warn them that further dissembling was useless.[2]

The news was received with great joy in the camp of the volunteers. Their sinking spirits at once revived, and pursuit on the fresh scent was undertaken the following morning, with an enthusiasm that henceforth had no occasion to lag. All possible encumbrances were left behind, so that progress should be unimpeded. The course lay slightly to the north of west, through the present towns of Lake Mills and Cottage Grove. The Chicago & Northwestern railway between Jefferson Junction and Madison follows very closely Black Hawk's trail from the Rock river to the Four lakes. Deep swamps and sink-holes were met by the army, nearly the entire distance. The men had frequently to dismount and wade in water and mud to their armpits, while a violent thunder storm with phenomenal rainfall, the first night

[1] Afterwards Horicon lake, in Dodge county.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii., p. 407.

out, followed by an unseasonable drop in the temperature, increased the natural difficulties of progress. But the straggling Winnebagoes, who were deserting the band of Sac fugitives in this time of want and peril, reported the Hawk but two miles in advance, and the volunteers eagerly hurried on with empty stomachs and wet clothes. By sunset of the second day, July 20, they reached the lakes, going into camp for the night a quarter of a mile north of the northeast extremity of Third lake.[1] That same night, Black Hawk was strongly ambushed, seven or eight miles beyond, near the present village of Pheasant Branch.

At daybreak of the twenty-first, the troops were up, and, after fording the Catfish river where the Williamson street bridge now (1892) crosses it, swept across the isthmus between Third and Fourth lakes in regular line of battle, Ewing's spies to the front. Where to-day is built the park-like city of Madison, the capital of Wisconsin, was then a heavy forest with frequent dense thickets of underbrush. The line of march was along Third-lake shore to about where Fauerbach's brewery now is, thence almost due west to Fourth lake, the shores of which were skirted through

[1] *Wakefield*, who was with the army, gives this picture (p. 66) of the Four-lake country, as it appeared to him, July 20, 1832: "Here it may not be uninteresting to the reader, to give a small outline of those lakes. From a description of the country, a person would very naturally suppose that those lakes were as little pleasing to the eye of the traveller, as the country is. But not so. I think they are the most beautiful bodies of water I ever saw. The first one that we came to [Third lake], was about ten miles in circumference, and the water as clear as chrystal. The earth sloped back in a gradual rise; the bottom of the lake appeared to be entirely covered with white pebbles, and no appearance of its being the least swampy. The second one that we came to [Fourth lake], appeared to be much larger. It must have been twenty miles in circumference. The ground rose very high all around; — and the heaviest kind of timber grew close to the water's edge. If those lakes were any where else, except in the country they are, they would be considered among the wonders of the world. But the country they are situated in is not fit for any civilized nation of people to inhabit. It appears that the Almighty intended it for the children of the forest. The other two lakes [First and Second], we did not get close enough to for me to give a complete description of them; but those who saw them, stated that they were very much like the others."

the present state university grounds, across intervening swamps and hills to the Pheasant branch, and thence due northwest to the Wisconsin river. The advance was so rapid that forty horses gave out during the day, between the Catfish and the Wisconsin. When his animal succumbed, the trooper would trudge on afoot, throwing away his camp-kettle and other encumbrances, thus following the example of the fugitives ahead of him, the trail being lined with Indian mats, kettles, and camp equipage discarded in the hurry of flight. Some half-dozen inoffensive Sac stragglers — chiefly old men who had become exhausted by the famine[1] now prevailing in the Hawk's camp — were shot at intervals and scalped by the whites,— two of them within the present limits of Madison. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before the enemy's rear guard of twenty braves under Neapope was overtaken. Several skirmishes ensued. The timber was still thick, and it was impossible at first to know whether Neapope's party were the main body of the Indians or not. The knowledge of their weakness became apparent after a time, and thereafter when the savages made a feint the spies would charge and easily disperse them.

At about half past four o'clock, when within a mile and a half of the river, and some twenty-five miles northwest of the site of Madison, Neapope's band, reinforced by a score of braves under Black Hawk, made a bold stand to cover the flight of the main body of his people down the bluffs and across the stream. Every fourth man of the white column was detailed to hold the horses, while the rest of the troopers advanced on foot. The savages made a heavy charge, yelling like madmen, and endeavored to flank the whites,

[1] "During our encampment at Four Lakes, we were hard put, to obtain enough to eat to support nature. Stuck in a swampy, marshy country (which had been selected in consequence of the great difficulty required to gain access thereto), there was but little game of any sort to be found — and fish were equally scarce * * * We were forced to dig roots and bark trees, to obtain something to satisfy our hunger and keep us alive. Several of our old people became so much reduced, as actually to die with hunger."— *Autobiography*, p. 130.

but Colonel Fry on the right and Colonel Jones on the left repulsed them with loss. The Sacs now dropped into the grass, which was nearly six feet high, but after a half hour of hot firing on both sides, with a few casualties evenly distributed, Dodge, Ewing, and Jones charged the enemy with the bayonet, driving them up a rising piece of ground at the top of which a second rank of savages was found. After further firing, the Indians swiftly retreated down the bluffs to join their main body now engaged in crossing the river. It had been raining softly during the greater part of the battle, and there was difficulty experienced in keeping the muskets dry, but a sharp fire was kept up between the lines until dusk. At the base of the bluffs there was swampy ground some sixty yards in width, and then a heavy fringe of timber on a strip of firm ground along the river bank. As the Indians could reach this vantage point before being overtaken, it was deemed best to abandon the pursuit for the night.

Black Hawk was himself the conductor of this battle, on the part of the Sacs, and sat on a white pony on a neighboring knoll, directing his men with stentorian voice.[1]

After dusk had set in, a large party of the fugitives, composed mainly of women, children, and old men, were placed on a large raft and in canoes begged from the Winnebagoes, and sent down the river in the hope that the soldiers at Fort Crawford, guarding the mouth of the Wisconsin, would allow these non-combatants to cross the Mississippi in peace. But too much faith was placed in the humanity of the Americans. Lieutenant Ritner, with a small detachment of regulars, was sent out by Indian Agent Joseph M. Street[2] to intercept these forlorn and nearly starved wretches, a messenger from the field of battle having apprised the agent of their approach. Ritner fired on them a

[1] Black Hawk says he lost six warriors in this engagement at Wisconsin Heights (opposite Prairie du Sac); Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau Bun* says, it was reported at Fort Winnebago that fifty Sacs were killed; *Wakefield* puts the number at sixty-eight killed outright, and twenty-five mortally wounded.

[2] Stationed at Prairie du Chien.

short distance above Fort Crawford, killing fifteen men and capturing thirty-two women and children, and four men. Nearly as many more were drowned during the onslaught, while of the rest, who escaped to the woods, all but a half score perished with hunger or were massacred by a party of three hundred Menomonee allies from the Green Bay country, under Colonel Stambaugh and a small staff of white officers.[1]

During the night after the battle at Wisconsin Heights — as it has ever since been known — there were frequent alarms from prowling Indians, and the men, fearing an attack, were under arms nearly the entire time. About an hour and a half before dawn of the twenty-second, a loud, shrill voice, speaking in an unknown tongue, was heard from the direction of the knoll occupied by Black Hawk during the battle. There was a great panic in the camp, for it was thought that the savage leader was giving orders for an attack, and Henry found it desirable to make his men a patriotic speech to bolster their courage. Just before daylight the harangue ceased. It was afterwards learned that the orator was Neapope, who had spoken in Winnebago, presuming that Paquette and the Winnebago pilots were still in the camp. But they had left for Fort Winnebago during the night succeeding the battle, and there was not one among the troops who had understood a word of the speech. It was a speech of conciliation addressed to the victors. Neapope had said that the Sacs had their squaws, children and old people with them, that they had been unwillingly forced into war, that they were literally starving, and if allowed to cross the Mississippi in peace would never more do harm. But the plea fell on unwitting ears, and thus failed the second earnest attempt of the British band to close the war. As for Neapope, finding that his mission had failed, he fled to the Winnebagoes, leaving his half-dozen companions to return with the discouraging news to Black Hawk, now secretly encamped in a neighboring ravine north of the Wisconsin.[2]

[1] See *post*, "Boyd Papers," for the documentary history of Stambaugh's expedition.

[2] *Autobiography*, pp. 131–133. Black Hawk does not mention this inci-

The twenty-second of July was spent by the white army on the battlefield, making preparations to march to Blue Mounds for provisions. It was discovered that the enemy had escaped during the night across or down the river, and it was thought that the troops were insufficiently provided with food for a long chase through the wholly unknown country beyond the Wisconsin river.

On the twenty-third, Henry marched with his corps to the fort at Blue Mounds, and late that evening was joined by Atkinson and Alexander, who, on being informed by express of the discovery of the trail and the rapid pursuit, had left the fort on the Koshkonong, officered by Captain Low, and hastened on to the Mounds to join the victors. Atkinson assumed command, distributed rations to the men, and ordered that the pursuit be resumed.

On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, the Wisconsin was crossed on rafts at Helena, then a deserted log village, whose cabins had furnished material for the floats.[1] Posey had now joined the army with his brigade, and all of the generals were together again. The advance was commenced at noon of the twenty-eighth, the four hundred and fifty regulars, now under General Brady — with Colonel Taylor still of the party — in front; while Dodge, Posey, and Alexander followed in the order named, Henry bringing up the rear in charge of the baggage. It appears that there was much jealousy displayed by Atkinson, at the fact that the laurels of the campaign, such as they were, had thus far been won by the volunteers; and Henry, as the chief of the victors at Wisconsin Heights, was especially unpopular at headquarters. But the brigadier and his men trudged peacefully on behind, judiciously pocketing what they felt to be an insult.[2]

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dent of Neapope's night harangue. *Reynolds* mentions it, p. 262; so also *Ford*, p. 146, and *Wakefield*, p. 86.

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 403. The town had been built for the accommodation of shot-makers, but had been deserted at the outbreak of the war.

[2] *Ford*, pp. 146–155, publishes some interesting correspondence, showing that Dodge was disposed to claim more than his share of the honors of this

After marching four or five miles northeastward, the trail of the fugitives was discovered trending to the north of west, towards the Mississippi. The country between the Wisconsin and the great river is rugged and forbidding in character; it was then unknown to whites, and Winnebago guides were almost equally unfamiliar with it. The difficulties of progress were great, swamps and turbulent rivers being freely interspersed between the steep, thickly-wooded hills. However, the fact that they were noticeably gaining on the redskins constantly spurred the troopers to great endeavors. The pathway was strewn with the corpses of dead Sacs, who had died of wounds and starvation, and there were frequent evidences that the fleeing wretches were eating the bark of trees and the sparse flesh of their fagged-out ponies to sustain life.[1]

On Wednesday, the first of August, Black Hawk and his now sadly-depleted and almost famished band reached the Mississippi at a point two miles below the mouth of the Bad Axe, one of its smallest eastern tributaries, and about forty north of the Wisconsin. Here he undertook to cross; there were, however, but two or three canoes to be had, and the work was slow. One large raft, laden with women and children, was sent down the east side of the river towards Prairie du Chien, but on the way it capsized and nearly all of its occupants were drowned.

In the middle of the afternoon, the steamer "Warrior," of Prairie du Chien, used to transport army supplies, appeared on the scene with John Throckmorton as captain.[2] On

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and some other engagements in the war, and to ignore Henry as his superior officer. Those men under Dodge, who have written about the campaign, extol the superior merits of their chief; but in Illinois pioneer reminiscences, Henry is invariably the hero of the occasion.

[1] "I started over a rugged country, to go to the Mississippi, intending to cross it, and return to my nation. Many of our people were compelled to go on foot, for want of horses, which, in consequence of their having had nothing to eat for a long time, caused our march to be very slow. At length we reached the Mississippi, having lost some of our old men and little children, who perished on the way with hunger."—*Autobiography*, p. 133.

[2] See Fonda's report of the "Warrior's" part in the battle, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, v., pp. 261–264.

board were Lieutenants Kingsbury and Holmes, with fifteen regulars and six volunteers. They had been up the river to notify the Sioux chief, Wabasha,—whose village was on the sight of Winona, Minnesota,—that the Sacs were headed in that direction. As the steamer neared the shore, Black Hawk appeared on the bank with a white flag, and called out to the captain, in the Winnebago tongue, to send a boat ashore, as the Sacs wished to give themselves up. A Winnebago stationed in the bow interpreted the request, but the captain affected to believe that an ambush was intended, and ordered the Hawk to come aboard in his own craft. But this the Sac could not do, for the only canoes he had were engaged in transporting his women and children over the river, and were not now within hail. His reply to that effect was met in a few moments by three quick rounds of canister-shot, which went plowing through the little group of Indians on the shore, with deadly effect. A fierce fire of musketry ensued on both sides, in which twenty-three Indians were killed, while the whites suffered but one wounded. The "Warrior," now being out of wood, returned to Prairie du Chien for the night, the soldiers being highly elated at their share in the campaign.

During the night a few more savages crossed the river; but Black Hawk, foreseeing that disaster was about to befall his arms, gathered a party of ten warriors, among whom was the Prophet, and these, with about thirty-five squaws and children, headed east for a rocky hiding place at the dells of the Wisconsin, whither some Winnebagoes offered to guide them.[1] The next day, the heart of the old man smote him for having left his people to their fate, and he returned in time to witness from a neighboring bluff the conclusion of the battle of Bad Axe, that struck the death-blow to the British band. With a howl of rage, he turned back into the forest and fled.

The aged warrior had left excellent instructions to his braves, in the event of the arrival of the white army by and. Twenty picked Sacs were ordered to stand rear guard on one of the high bluffs which here line the east

[1] *Wakefield*, pp. 97, 98.

bank of the Mississippi, and when engaged, to fall back three miles up the river, thus to deceive the whites as to the location of the main band, and gain time for the flight of the latter across the stream, which was progressing slowly with but two canoes now left for the purpose.

Atkinson's men were on the move by two o'clock in the morning of August 2. When within four or five miles of the Sac position, the decoys were encountered. The density of the timber obstructing the view, and the twenty braves being widely separated, it was supposed that Black Hawk's main force had been overtaken. The army accordingly spread itself for the attack, Alexander and Posey forming the right wing, Henry the left, and Dodge and the regulars the center. When the savage decoys retreated up the river, as directed by the chief, the white center and right wing followed quickly, leaving the left wing — with the exception of one of its regiments detailed to cover the rear — without orders. This was clearly an affront to Henry, Atkinson's design doubtless being to crowd him out of what all anticipated would be the closing engagement of the campaign, and what little glory might come of it.

But the fates did not desert the brigadier. Some of Ewing's spies, attached to his command, accidentally discovered that the main trail of the fugitive band was lower down the river than where the decoys were leading the army. Henry, with his entire force, thereupon descended a bluff in the immediate neighborhood, and after a gallant charge on foot through the open wooded plateau between the base of the bluff and the shore, found himself in the midst of the main body of three hundred warriors, which was about the number of the attacking party. A desperate conflict ensued, the bucks being driven from tree to tree at the point of the bayonet, while women and children plunged madly into the river, many of them to immediately drown. The air was rent with savage yells and whoops, with the loud cries of the troopers as they cheered each other on, and with the shrill notes of the bugle directing the details of the attack.

It was fully half an hour after Henry made his descent,

when Atkinson, hearing the din of battle in his rear, came hastening to the scene with the center and right wing, driving in the decoys and stragglers before him, thus completing the corral. The carnage now proceeded more fiercely than ever. The red men fought with intense desperation, and, though weak from hunger, died like braves. A few escaped through a broad slough to a willow island, which the steamer "Warrior," now re-appearing on the river, raked from end to end with canister. This was followed by a wild dash through the mud and water, by a detachment of regulars, and a few of Henry's and Dodge's volunteers, who ended the business by sweeping the island with a bayonet charge. Some of the fugitives succeeded in swimming to the west bank of the Mississippi, but many were drowned on the way, or coolly picked off by sharp-shooters, who exercised no more mercy towards squaws and children than they did towards braves — treating them all as though they were rats instead of human beings.[1]

This "battle," or massacre, lasted three hours. It was a veritable pandemonium, filled with frightful scenes of bloodshed. The Indians lost one hundred and fifty killed outright, while as many more of both sexes and all ages and conditions were drowned — some fifty only being taken prisoners, and they mostly women and children. About three hundred of the band crossed the river successfully, before and during the struggle. The whites lost but seventeen killed and twelve wounded.[2]

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[1] "Although the warriers fought with the courage and valor of desperation, yet the conflict resembled more a carnage than a regular battle."— Reynolds's *My Own Times*, p. 265.

"Our braves, but few in number, finding that the enemy paid no regard to age or sex, and seeing that they were murdering helpless women and little children, determined to fight until they were killed."— *Autobiography*, p. 135.

Wakefield says, p. 85, "It was a horrid sight to witness little children, wounded and suffering the most excruciating pain. * * * It was enough to make the heart of the most hardened being on earth to ache."

[2] I follow Reynolds, *My Own Times*, p. 265. He says, "Some squaws were killed by mistake in the battle. They were mixed with the warriors and some of them dressed like the males."

Those of the Sacs who safely regained the west bank were soon set upon by a party of one hundred Sioux, under Wabasha, sent out for that purpose by General Atkinson, and one-half of these helpless, half-starved non-combatants were cruelly slaughtered, while many others died of exhaustion and wounds before they reached those of their friends who had been wise enough to abide by Keokuk's peaceful admonitions and stay at home. Thus, out of the band of nearly one thousand persons who crossed the Mississippi at the Yellow Banks, in April, not more than one hundred and fifty, all told, lived to tell the tragic story of the Black Hawk War — a tale fraught with dishonor to the American name.

The rest can soon be told. On the seventh of August, when the army had returned to Prairie du Chien, General Winfield Scott arrived and assumed command, discharging the volunteers the following day. Cholera among his troops had detained him first at Detroit, then at Chicago, and lastly at Rock Island, nearly one-fourth of his force of one thousand regulars having died with the pestilence. Independent of this, the American loss in the war, including volunteers and settlers killed in the irregular skirmishes and in massacres, was not over two hundred and fifty. The financial cost to the nation and to the state of Illinois aggregated nearly two millions of dollars.

On the twenty-seventh of August, Chætar and One-eyed Decorah, two Winnebago braves who were desirous of displaying their newly-inspired loyalty to the Americans, delivered Black Hawk and the Prophet into the hands of Agent Street, at Prairie du Chien. They had found the conspirators at the Wisconsin river dells, above the site of Kilbourn City.[1]

On the twenty-first of September, a treaty of peace was signed at Fort Armstrong; and Black Hawk, the Prophet,

[1] See McBride's "Capture of Black Hawk," in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, v., pp. 293, 294; *Id.*, viii., p. 316, *note; Wakefield*, pp. 95–101. There have been many traditions of the capture, differing from the above, but there is no documentary evidence to substantiate them. The standard account, which I follow, is based upon Street's official report.

and Neapope — who had been captured later — were, with others, kept as hostages for the good behavior of the small remnant of the British band and their Winnebago allies.[1] They were kept through the winter at Jefferson Barracks (now St. Louis),[2] and in April, 1833, taken to Washington. They staid as prisoners of war in Fortress Monroe until June 4, when they were discharged. After visiting the principal cities of the east, where Black Hawk was much lionized, and given an adequate idea of the power and resources of the whites, the party returned to Fort Armstrong, where they arrived about the first of August. Here Black Hawk's pride was completely crushed, he being formally transferred by the military authorities to the guardianship of his hated rival, Keokuk. This ceremony the fallen chief regarded as an irreparable insult, which he nursed with much bitterness the remainder of his days.

The aged warrior, with the weight of seventy-one years upon his whitened head, finally passed away on the third of October, 1838, at his home on a small reservation set apart for him and his personal followers, on the Des Moines river, in Davis county, Iowa.[3] In July of the following year (1839), an Illinois physician stole his body from its grave. Complaint being made by Black Hawk's family, Governor Lucas of Iowa caused the skeleton to be delivered to him at Burlington, then the capital of that Territory, in the spring of 1840. The seat of government being moved to Iowa City later in the year, the box containing the remains was deposited in a law office in the latter town.

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[1] *Treaties* (Wash., 1837), p. 508.

[2] Lieutenant Jefferson Davis took charge of the transfer of the prisoners from Fort Armstrong to Jefferson Barracks. The Davis biography cited on p. 234, *note*, says, "He entirely won the heart of the savage chieftain, and before they reached Jefferson Barracks there had sprung up between the stern red warrior and the young pale face a warm friendship which only terminated with the life of Black Hawk."

[3] Cornelius Buckley writes, in the Beloit *Weekly Free Press*, October 15, 1891: "He was buried in the northeast corner of Davis county, on section 2, township 70, range 12, ninety rods from where he died, and near the present village of Eldon."

where it remained until the night of January 16, 1853, when the building was destroyed by fire.[1]

Black Hawk was an indiscreet man. His troubles were brought about by a lack of mental balance, aided largely by untoward circumstances. He was of a highly romantic temperament. He was carried away by mere sentiment, and allowed himself to be deceived by tricksters. But he was honest — often more honorable than those who were his conquerors. He was, above all things, a patriot. The year before his death, in a speech to a party of whites who were making a holiday hero of him, he thus forcibly defended his motives: "Rock river was a beautiful country. I liked my town, my cornfields, and the home of my people. I fought for them." No poet could have penned for him a more touching epitaph.

Forbearance, honorable dealing, and the exercise of sound policy upon the part of the whites, could easily have prevented the war, with its enormous expenditure of blood and treasure. Squatters had been allowed to violate treaty obligations, in harassing the Sacs in their ancient village long before the government had sold the land; for six thousand dollars — a beggarly sum to use in securing peace with a formidable band of starving savages, grown desperate from ill-usage — Black Hawk would, in 1831, have quietly removed his people to the west of the Mississippi, without any show of force;[2] at Sycamore creek, an observance of one of the oldest and most universally-established rules of war would have procured a peaceful retreat of the discouraged invaders; after the battle of Wisconsin Heights, reasonable prudence in keeping an interpreter in camp, in a hostile country, would have enabled Neapope's peaceful mission to succeed; a humane regard for the ordinary usages of warfare, on the part of the reckless soldiers on the steamer "Warrior," at the Bad Axe, would have secured an abject surrender of the entire hostile band, which was,

[1] It had been designed to place the warrior's bones in the museum of the Iowa Historical and Geological Institute, but the fire occurred before the removal could take place.— Burlington (Iowa) *Gazette*, August 25, 1888.

[2] *Autobiography*, pp. 99, 100.

instead, ruthlessly butchered; while the sending out of the Sioux upon the trail of the few worn-out fugitives, in the very country beyond the great river which they had been persistently ordered to occupy, capped the climax of a bloody and costly contest, characterized on our part by heartlessness, bad faith, and gross mismanagement.

It is generally stated in the published histories of those commonwealths, that the defeat of Black Hawk opened to settlement northern Illinois and the southern portion of what is now Wisconsin. Unqualified, this statement is misleading. Doubtless the war proved a powerful agent in the original development of this section, but the end was accomplished indirectly. As we have seen, the British band was in itself no obstacle to legitimate settlement, the frontiers of which were far removed from Black Hawk's village, and need not have crowded it for some years to come. Although the natural outgrowth of the excitable condition of affairs on the border, the war was not essential as a means of clearing the path of civilization. What it did accomplish in the way of territorial development, was to call national attention, in a marked manner, to the attractions and resources of an important section of the Northwest. The troops acted as explorers of a large tract of which nothing had hitherto been definitely known among white men. The Sacs themselves were, previous to their invasion, unacquainted with the Rock river valley above the mouth of the Kishwaukee, and had but vague notions of its swamps and lakes, gathered from their Winnebago guides, who alone were fairly well informed on the subject. From Wisconsin Heights to the Bad Axe, every foot of the trackless way was as unknown to the Sacs and their pursuers as the interior of Africa was to Stanley when he first groped his way across the Dark Continent. During and immediately following the war, the newspapers of the eastern states were filled with descriptions, more or less florid, of the scenic charms of, and the possibilities for, extractive industries in the Rock river valley, the groves and prairies on every hand, the park-like region of the Four lakes, the Wisconsin-river highlands, and the picturesque mountains and almost

impenetrable forests of western Wisconsin. Books and pamphlets were issued from the press by the score, giving sketches of the war and accounts of the newly-discovered paradise: crude publications, abounding, as a rule, in gross narrative and descriptive errors, and to-day practically unknown except to historical specialists. But they did the work, in their own way and season, of thoroughly advertising the country, and at once attracted a tide of immigration thither. There necessarily followed, in due time, the opening to sale of public lands heretofore reserved, and the purchase of what territory remained in the possession of the Indian tribes of the district. Again, the decisive result of the war completely humbled the spirit of the mischief-making Winnebagoes, so that they never resumed their arrogant tone, and were quite content to allow the affair to remain the last of the Indian uprisings in either Illinois or Wisconsin. This incidental crushing of the Winnebagoes, and the broad and liberal advertising given to the theatre of disturbance, were therefore the two practical and immediate results of the Black Hawk War, the consequence of which was at once to give an enormous impetus to the development of Wisconsin Territory.[1]

[1] Erected in 1836.

PAPERS OF INDIAN AGENT BOYD—1832.

SKETCH OF GEORGE AND JAMES M. BOYD, BY HERBERT B. TANNER.[2]

Colonel George Boyd, Jr., was born about 1779 in the eastern part of Maryland. His father, George Boyd, Sr., was a Scotchman, who came to this country before the Revolutionary War, and practiced law in Maryland; he was a brother of Walter Boyd, of Boyd & Kean, bankers in London and Paris. George Boyd, Jr., was truly one of the government's most faithful employees. His integrity bore the scrutiny of various administrative changes during his thirty-five years of official life. He began his service early in life, in the Bank of the Metropolis, at Washington, D. C.

[1] The letter- and record-book kept by Colonel George Boyd while United States Indian agent at Green Bay, from 1832 to 1840, was presented to the Society in June, 1887, by Lieutenant James M. Boyd, of South Kaukauna, son of Colonel Boyd, and himself a veteran of the Black Hawk War and an honored pioneer. The book lacks apparently but a few pages at the commencement of being complete, and is in a good state of preservation. It throws many interesting side-lights on early Wisconsin history, and from time to time selections therefrom will be published in these volumes. The extracts here given cover the period of the Black Hawk War, being the documentary history of the Stambaugh expedition.

For Morgan L. Martin's estimate of Indian Agent Boyd, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 392, 393.

In her reminiscences of early Wisconsin, in the Green Bay *State Gazette*, June 29, 1887, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Baird writes: "In September, 1832, Colonel George Boyd came from Mackinac to occupy the agency house, lately vacated by Colonel Samuel Stambaugh, Indian agent, who had been removed to some other place. The agency house was only about a quarter of a mile from our farm, so we considered that we were not only to have

[2] Dr. Herbert B. Tanner, of South Kaukauna, son-in-law of Lieutenant James M. Boyd.— Ed.

In the fall of 1811, he was chosen private secretary to William Eustis, then secretary of war, and continued to fill the same position under his successor, General John Armstrong.

In August, 1814, Mr. Boyd was intrusted with private dispatches to the peace commissioners at Ghent. He remained in France until the spring of 1815, when he returned to America. In October, 1816, he was appointed special agent of the war department, and ordered to Europe to purchase arms for the use of the United States; he had also received orders to purchase material to be used in the construction of the capitol building and the president's house, at Washington. His purchase of building material at this time aggregated over $19,000, principally in fine hardware — such as brass hinges, gold-plated knobs and locks, carpets, etc.; also an invoice of $2,000 worth of foreign books for the use of the war department.

After transacting his business, he paid a short visit to his brother, Robert D. Boyd, and his uncle, Walter Boyd, in Paris. On his return to this country, he brought with him

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neighbors in Colonel Boyd's family, but friends. My joy was very great. Mrs. Boyd had always been very kind to me as a child, in Mackinac. As for Mr. Baird's mother, her joy knew no bounds, although she did not yet know what kind of a friend she was to meet in that most estimable woman. The only daughter, Kate, became as great a friend of Mother Baird's as if she had been of her own age. Poor child, she was lonely, as were the others, at first. Colonel Boyd, I believe, was a Virginian, a very talented and cultivated man. A gentleman of the old school, his manners were perfect, his friendship very sincere, and he was very charitable to the poor. He was the very person to hold the office he did. The Indians looked upon him as a father indeed. Mrs. Boyd was a charming woman, her cultivation and style of manners far surpassing those of any here. She was a sister of Mrs. John Quincy Adams. I quote from a letter from President John Quincy Adams to Mr. Baird, in response to a letter informing him of the death of Colonel Boyd. He says: 'Your estimate of his character corresponds with that which I have long entertained of it, and if viewed with the eyes of friendship will not be disavowed by the award of impartial justice.' Colonel and Mrs. Boyd had, I believe, five boys and one daughter. Of that number only one now remains, Mr. James M. Boyd, who makes his home with his daughter, Mrs. Dr. Tanner, of South Kaukauna, Wis."— Ed.

a stock of laces, which he opened for sale in Georgetown, D. C. On account of some change in the administration of the war department at this time, the government refused to fulfill its contract with him, by declining to accept a part of the arms which he had purchased. This involved him in financial ruin. After disposing of all of his property for the benefit of his creditors, he removed with his family to King George county, Virginia, near Port Royal.

On the seventeenth of December, 1818, he received the appointment of Indian agent at what was then called Michillimackinac. He left for his post early in 1819. Returning, he took his family, consisting of his wife and four children, to Mackinaw in the spring of 1820. There he resided, discharging his duties as Indian agent, until 1832, when he was ordered to the Green Bay agency, succeeding Colonel S. C. Stambaugh. Colonel Boyd arrived in Green Bay on the second day of June, 1832. In 1837, to the care of the Menomonee and Oneida tribes, the charge of the Winnebagoes and Brothertowns was added to his duties.

In 1840, after his long continuous service in government employ, he resigned his post, and on the fourteenth of August, 1846, quietly passed away, surrounded by his wife and family. He was known by all who came in contact with him, as a man of refined character, and generous to a fault.

His early life was spent in and about Washington, where he married Miss Harriet Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, a niece of Thomas Johnson, the first governor of Maryland, and a sister of Mrs. John Quincy Adams. Their married life was blest with a large family—eight boys and one girl. James Madison Boyd, the only surviving member of the family, now resides at Kaukauna, Wisconsin.

The other sons who grew to manhood were John Quincy Adams Boyd, who entered the United States navy, attained the rank of lieutenant and died at Norfolk, Virginia, from yellow fever; Joshua Johnson Boyd, who also served in the navy, but resigned, came to Wisconsin, and became a fur trader, being murdered at Sturgeon Bay by an Indian in 1832,—the only excuse offered for the crime being that

Mr. Boyd had refused him credit for goods; Thomas Alexander Brooks Boyd, who was Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, afterwards entered the mercantile business at Savanna, Illinois, and died at Detroit from cholera, while on his way home from New York; Robert Dundass Boyd, who settled at La Pointe, where he was clerk of the court under Judge David G. Fenton, being shot and killed there about 1850; and William Henry Crawford Boyd, who served in the 12th regiment of Wisconsin volunteers, during the War of the Rebellion, afterwards settling at Oconto, where he died several years ago. Catherine Ann Boyd, the daughter, married F. F. Hamilton, lived in Berlin for a number of years, and died there in 1862.

Lieutenant James Madison Boyd was born in Washington, D. C., January 13, 1816. He came to the island of Michillimackinac with his father and family, in 1820, and lived there until 1832, when the family removed to Green Bay. He enlisted for the Black Hawk War as lieutenant, leaving Green Bay July 26, 1832. After the close of the war, he acted as interpreter for his father until 1839, when he married Maria M. Lawe, a daughter of Judge John Lawe, of Green Bay. Living on the south side of the Fox river, between Green Bay and Depere, he followed farming until 1873, when he removed to Depere, and afterward to Kaukauna, where Mrs. Boyd died in 1879.

Of their large family of children, only two are living at present,—a daughter, married to the writer hereof, and a son, N. C. B. Boyd. Their sons John and Joshua Boyd served in the last war. Joshua received injuries resulting in the amputation of both feet, from which he died in one of the hospitals in New York; John contracted consumption in the army, from which he died soon after coming home.

BOYD TO GENERAL ATKINSON.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, July 20, 1832.

SIR, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, in answer to one of mine of the 23d ult°., by the hands of Col°. Hamilton,[1] three days since — and to inform you that arrangements are making

[1] William Stephen Hamilton. He was born August 4, 1797, the sixth child of General Alexander Hamilton, the famous American statesman, who was killed by Aaron Burr in July, 1804. Young Hamilton passed his early childhood with his mother, two sisters, and four brothers. His eldest brother, Philip, had fallen in a duel with one Eacker, November 24, 1801, lacking two months of being twenty years of age. Their home was at "The Grange," his father's country-seat, eight and a half miles from New York city hall. June 15, 1814, W. S. Hamilton was admitted to the United States military academy at West Point, but resigned in 1817, having received an appointment on the staff of Colonel William Rector, then surveyor-general of Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, with headquarters in Illinois. After a protracted absence, young Hamilton went on a visit of a few weeks' duration to his mother's home, then in New York city; he returned to the west, seeking his fortune in that portion of Michigan Territory now the state of Wisconsin. His journey to and from home had been made wholly on horseback. The earliest notice we have, of his presence in Wisconsin, is in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iv., p. 168, where it is related that in 1825 he bought some cattle in Illinois and drove them to Green Bay, via Chicago, for the use of the troops at the former point. He appears to have arrived at Galena, July 4, 1827, in company with Daniel M. Parkinson and three others, and soon after settled at and founded what is now Wiota, La Fayette county. From that time forward, he took high rank among the mine operators in the lead region. He was captain of a volunteer company in the Red Bird disturbance of 1827. During the Black Hawk War, he was captain of the little garrison at Wiota, was instrumental in raising a party of Sioux and Winnebago allies, and commanded a company of white rangers in the "Iowa-county regiment, Michigan volunteers." His valuable services in the war are fully set forth in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ii.–viii., and x. While conducting his operations at "Hamilton's diggings," as Wiota was then popularly known, he received a visit from his mother and one of his sisters, who had come on from Washington, D. C., where they were then residing. They returned home after a short stay in the rude settlement, the aged Mrs. Hamilton finding it "a long and fatiguing journey." Colonel Hamilton appears to have moved to California during the early days of the gold-mining excitement

with all possible expedition to forward to your aid the services of two hundred Menomonies — with a view to arrest the progress of the Enemy towards the Milwalkie Country. They will be placed under the immediate Command of Col°. Stambaugh[1] the former Agent of these people,

there, and to have died of cholera at Sacramento, in or previous to 1853. Owing to the feeble condition of his excellent mother, — who died in 1854, aged ninety-seven years and three months — news of the death of her roving son was not communicated to her by his brother Philip (born June 1, 1802, and named after the Philip who had been killed in a duel the previous November), who had visited his grave in 1852. Many of the foregoing particulars are gleaned from a MS. letter before me, written to Dr. Lyman C. Draper by Philip Hamilton, at Poughkeepsie, New York, February 7, 1880.

From a MS. letter by Captain Schuyler Hamilton, of Mexican War fame, a nephew of W. S. Hamilton, written (also to Dr. Draper) at Jamaica, Long Island, June 14, 1879, I take the following extracts, which are interesting as illustrative of the character both of Colonel Hamilton and Governor Henry Dodge, as well as of the dueling spirit of the times, which had twice brought bereavement to the Hamilton family: "I saw my uncle William half a dozen times, perhaps. * * * I traveled once with Gov. Dodge. I was a youngster then. The Gov. honored me by special notice. One Mr. Harrison, of Dubuque, at whose Hotel I was stopping, learning I was a nephew of Col. W. S. H. I was a Lieut., U. S. A., then. A fellow crowded me more than I could stand and I said: 'Damn you; if you want to fight, I'll fight you, only I do not know who will be my second,' — (I have changed my views since.) I said I was the nephew of Col. W. S. Hamilton. Col. Harrison said: 'Are you? Then I will be your second.' The braggart flunked and Col. Harrison told me 'I was intimate with your uncle William.' Dodge was Col. of the 2d Dragoons, perhaps then called Rangers, or something. He and uncle Will had a quarrel, about the time of the Black Hawk war. Dodge challenged my uncle. He replied that at that moment the country demanded his services; but if he survived until the war was over, he would be happy to oblige him. The war being over, uncle William informed Col. Dodge that he awaited his convenience. Dodge replied that he could have no cause of quarrel with so brave a soldier and gentleman as he had shown himself, begged to withdraw the challenge and they became friends. I cannot vouch for the story. I tell it as I had it from Col. Harrison, 26 or 27 years ago."

An entertaining account of a stay at W. S. Hamilton's "low, shabby and unpromising" cabins at Wiota in 1832, will be found in Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-Bun* (1856 ed.), pp. 147–151.— ED.

[1] See Martin's estimate of Major John Biddle, Major Henry B. Brevoort, and Samuel C. Stambaugh, predecessors of Boyd in the Green Bay Indian

who, on my first arrival in this Country, demanded as a favor, that in the event of the Menomonies being called into the field, that Col°. Stambaugh should be placed at their head. This request was formally granted them by me in Council — and it is to redeem this pledge, as well as to enable me consistently to relinquish a command, for which my present feeble state of health wholly unfits me, that this arrangement has been made. It has been my earnest wish to employ the talents and experience of Col°. Hamilton, by associating him with the Expedition, with that rank which would bring him second in command. This offer, I regret to say, Col°. H. has at once declined. I trust, however, that the Menomonies will effect what you calculated from their presence in the field under the present management, and that they will be ready to take up the line of march in order to aid you in your intended operations against the Enemy in about seven days from the present time.

The last arrival here (and hurried away by fear from Chicago) reports that the Cholera Morbus has made considerable ravages in Gen^l. Scott's command. We trust however, that reports have exaggerated the deaths by this disease, and that the next Vessel, now expected hourly, will give us more cheering news.[1]

With great Respect, &c.

G. Boyd,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

Br. Gen^l. H. Atkinson,[2] *U. S. Army Comm^d. Camp White Water, Rock River.*

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agency, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 390–393. See also, concerning Stambaugh, *Id.*, x., index; and references to him in "McCall's Journal," and "The Story of the Black Hawk War," *ante.*— Ed.

[1] Of the one thousand regulars with whom General Winfield Scott started from the seaboard to assist in the Black Hawk War, nearly one-fourth died from cholera. He was detained, because of its ravages among his men, first at Detroit, then at Chicago, and lastly at Rock Island, arriving too late to take part in any of the military operations.— Ed.

[2] General Henry Atkinson, in the absence of General Scott, had command of all the American forces in the Black Hawk War.— Ed.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

U. S. Indian Agency,
Green Bay, July 20, 1832.

Sir,— I have the honor to enclose herewith, the copy of a letter received the day before yesterday, by the hands of Colo. Hamilton, from General Atkinson, charged with the Indian War in this Country — by which your Excellency will observe, that at this late hour, the services of the Menomonees are required to bring this tedious and disastrous war to a conclusion.

Your Exc'y will find by the copy of my letter, in answer to the General, that I am endeavouring to meet the call promptly — and to meet it efficiently, arms must be purchased, and various other expences incurred, for which I shall hope to have your sanction, as well as the approval of the Government.

The feelings of the Menomonees, as well as of the citizens generally at this place (and most of them [are] allied to this nation of Indians by blood) were so hostile to the pretensions of Colo. Hamilton to command them — that another and different arrangement from the one contemplated by Genl. Atkinson has been decided on, and which I hope may also meet your approbation.

Your Exc'y may feel assured that in equipping this Indian force for the field, every œconomy will be used, consistent with the honor and interest of the Country.

With great respect, &c.

G. Boyd,
U. S. I. Agent.

To His Exc'y G. B. Porter, Gov. of the Terr'y of Michigan, Detroit.

TO GENERAL BROOKE.

Indian Agency Office,
Green Bay, July 20th, 1832.

Sir,— It becomes my duty to inclose to you, copies of letters received the day before yesterday, in relation to our Indian War from Genl. Atkinson, and the Sub-Indian Agent

at the Portage,[1] by which it would appear that serious apprehensions are entertained, with our great force in the field, the Sacs may still effect their escape to the British Settlements.

With my respectful remembrances to your Command generally,

I have the honor to be, &c.

G. Boyd,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

To B Gen^l Brooke,[2] Com^r at Mackinac.

TO DANIEL WHITNEY.[3]

Indian Agency, Green Bay,
July 21st. 1832.

Dr. Sir,—With the arms purchased from Messrs. Kircheval[4] and Hamilton[5] together with your own,—you will

[1] John H. Kinzie. Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-Bun* contains many interesting episodes of life at Fort Winnebago (Portage) during this period.— Ed.

[2] Brevet Brig. Gen. George M. Brooke, colonel 5th inf., U. S. A.— Ed.

[3] Daniel Whitney was born at Gilman, New Hampshire, in 1795. He arrived in Green Bay in the summer of 1819, establishing himself in business at Shanty Town. Soon after arriving he explored the Fox river to its sources; and voyaged from the rapids of the Wisconsin to its junction with the Mississippi. In 1821-22 he was sutler at Fort Snelling, had several trading posts on the upper Mississippi, and one at Sault Ste. Marie. During that winter he made a journey on foot from Fort Snelling, on the St. Peters, to Detroit, which was full of perils; an account of it will be found in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 370. Between 1825 and 1830 he explored the upper Wisconsin and built a mill at Plover portage. For fifteen years thereafter, he logged above that point, sawed his lumber at Portage, and rafted it down to St. Louis, being presumably the first regular lumberman on the Wisconsin. An account of his shot-tower enterprise at Old Helena is given by Martin in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 403. At Green Bay, throughout all these years, he maintained a considerable mercantile establishment, and was engaged in numerous small manufacturing enterprises along the lower Fox. In 1828-29 he laid out the town of Navarino, now the city of Green Bay, and built houses, warehouses, and wharves there. Died at Green Bay, November 4, 1862. His portrait is in the Society's gallery.— Ed.

[4] Benjamin B. Kercheval, of Detroit, was the sutler at Ft. Howard; he had a mixed assortment of goods on the west side of Fox river.

[5] Findlay Fisher Hamilton, who was married to Agent Boyd's daughter,

please to include some to be had from Messrs. Law, Porlier and Grignon[1]—in order that the whole number may be included in the one draft to be drawn on ac of army. These arms I should be glad to have sent to the Agency in the course of the day, or early on Monday morning.

Very respectfully, &c.

G. Boyd,
U. S. Indian Agent.

Danl. Whitney, Esquire, Green Bay.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

Indian Agency Office,
July 23d, 1832.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excy's Dispatch of the 7th instant, marked as borne by Mr. Martin,[2] who it is understood returned to your city after his arrival at Mackinac. This letter was only received by me last night (Sunday) at 9 o'clock after a detention of nearly two days. I set down to answer it however, not believing that I shall have time even to acknowledge its receipt to you by the only Vessel now in port, about to sail in an hour's time—and the Agency distant from the Port of Navarino at least five miles.

It gives me some uneasiness to find that your Excy does not acknowledge the receipt of my letter dated from Mackinac, I think about the middle of May, together with my Vouchers for expenditures within that Agency—and closing all my public and private accounts for that place to the 31st of May—intending thereby to enable Mr. Schoolcraft[3]

Catherine. Hamilton had a mixed stock of goods on the east side of the river, and was not associated in business with Kercheval.—Ed.

[1] John Lawe, Jacques Porlier, Sr., and Augustin Grignon, all of whom were doing business with or for the American Fur Company. See Grignon's account of the Stambaugh expedition, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iii., pp. 293–295.—Ed.

[2] Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, then member of the legislative council of Michigan.—Ed.

[3] Henry R. Schoolcraft, who succeeded Boyd as Indian agent at Mackinac.—Ed.

to take charge of the Mackinac Agency, free of all demands; as I [was] supposed, to take charge of that at Green Bay, under similar circumstances. This arrangement was at once approved by Mr. Schoolcraft — and with this object in view on the 1st June a vessel was chartered by me at great expense, in order to convey me and my family to the Bay, in order that this arrangement, founded in the public good alone, might be carried into Complete effect. I arrived here on the 3d of June, and on the 4th took Charge of the Agency, so far as regarded all public Expenditure (altho I did not get possession of the Agency House,[1] &c. until the 15th) with an express understanding with Col. Stambaugh, at his request, & certainly with my own wishes, that I should & would not have anything to do with the adjustment of accounts prior to my arrival. By this arrangement it was the intention of Mr. Schoolcraft & myself to commence the management of our respective Agencies free from all obstacles.

[NOTE.—A portion of the page, with a few connecting lines, is here torn off.— ED.]

for four months instead of three. This at the time appeared to me, as the more correct course, and I think so still — altho as an Agent of the U. S., and immediately under the control of Your Superintendency, it will give me much pleasure in meeting your views & your wishes. On this head, should your Excy after the receipt of this Communication, still adhere to the opinion, that I should undertake the settlement of the full quarter at Mackinac ending on the 30th June, and altho all my concerns with that Agency had been closed for a full month. Your Excy will be pleased to observe that this Arrangement was made during your absence from Detroit and under the strongest Conviction that it would meet your approbation on your arrival.

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[1] This building was erected by James Duane Doty in 1825, and is said to have been the first frame house in Green Bay. Mrs. E. T. Baird, in her reminiscences in the Green Bay *Gazette* (April 6, 1887), said, it "stood on the point of land just above the old Jones place."— ED.

My letter of the 20th instant will apprise your Excy of the call made by Genl. Atkinson for 2 or 3 hundred of the Menomonees — the call was promptly met & the usual mode of communicating with the Indians taken[1] but I am truly sorry to say, that after a lapse of nearly five days, but about forty Inds. have assembled at the Agency. It is true, however, that the 1st War Chief of the Nation, the Big Soldier,[2] reports this morning that his band consisting of fifty or sixty fighting men are ready at their villages to be taken up by the line of march of those Inds. living below the Settlements and along the Bay shore, and in accordance with my orders to them. The Menomonees are most wretchedly armed, or rather not armed at all — and I am afraid that with every effort & exertion, not more than 150 of this nation will be able to march efficiently armed. The whole number of Arms at our disposition, by purchase, rifle as well as shot guns, is only 110. I trust however that the balance will be found in the hands of the Indians — altho not of a character fit for active service. A number of Spears however have been made & are still making for their use, and which will in some measure Compensate for the inferiority of their Arms. The order from the Aid de Camp of Genl. Scott, recognizing the call of 200 Volunteers, under the Command of Col. Irwin,[3] comes very opportunely. In a conversation with the Commanding officer of the Post, Capt. Clarke,[4] last evening, it was urged upon him to aid the Ind. Dept. to induce the New York Inds. to obey this call promptly & efficiently — and it gives me great satisfaction to believe that the Arms (200 in number)

[1] Sending out native or half-breed runners. Ebenezer Childs, whose recollections are in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iv., was also employed to rally the Menomonees at this time. — Ed.

[2] Pawakonem (Big Soldier) signed the treaty of Green Bay, October 27, 1832. — Ed.

[3] Alexander J. Irwin, of Green Bay. — Ed.

[4] Nathan Clark, captain of the 5th infantry. Appointed to the army from Connecticut; 2nd lieut. of 37th infantry, May 19, 1813; transferred to 5th infantry, May 17, 1815; 1st lieut., March 3, 1817; captain, June 29, 1824; died Feb. 18, 1836. Brevet major, June 29, 1834, for ten years faithful service in one grade. — Ed.

spoken of in your Excy's communication to me, are now on board a vessel reported to be in port since I began this letter. Col. Hamilton is still here, and is setting at my table while I write. He talks of leaving to-morrow for the head qrs. of Genl. Atkinson — & I have charged him with my communication to the General in relation to his call for the Menomonees, and the steps taken on my part to send a Band of 200 of them to his aid, of which a Copy is enclosed to Your Excy. in my letter of the 20th instant.

I have endeavored to keep Colo. Hamilton here to the last moment, in order to see the number of Menomonee Inds. who may obey this call on them — as well as to ascertain the number of Militia, New York Inds. included, who may feel disposed to march under the command of Colo. Irwin;[1] — & more especially to give the Com. General in the field as accurate information as possible of the aid which he can count on from our exertions in this quarter.

It appears to me, Sir, that a crisis has arrived, which if not promptly and gallantly met by all entrusted with authority for the public good, will cause this fair & infant portion of the union to mourn for devastations by the scalping-knife scarcely inferior to those about to be poured upon us by the Scourging hand of an Almighty Providence. My fears are more than realized by putting to myself the following questions:

Will it be prudent, if practicable, for General Scott to hazard a conjunction of any portion of his diseased Command, with the healthy part of the Army already in the field under Genl. Atkinson? Would not the very rumor of Cholera under such Circumstances, drive every militia man from the side of Atkinson? Is it not within human probability that Indian Tribes, at present luke warm & indifferent as to the fate of this War (such as the Pottawattamies

[1] Dr. Tanner writes me, under date of November 16, 1887: "Mr. James M. Boyd says Alexander J. Irwin was commissioned to raise two or three hundred Oneidas and Stockbridges for the Black Hawk War. This he failed to do, as the Indians would not go. He then accompanied the Menomonee Indian expedition under Colonel Stambaugh, as lieutenant and commissary."— Ed.

& Winnebagoes,) both partially allied to the hostile Indians by intermarriages — may not, by Witnessing the ravages made by disease among our troops — at once, and to a man, join the Sacs & Foxes, and raise the Tomahawk against us?

Below your Excy. will receive a list of officers to lead the Menomonees, sanctioned by me. They have been selected, as well to meet the wishes of the Indians, as to conciliate public sentiment — and I cannot but hope that they will meet with, and in the end, merit your approbation. The command has been arranged under the supposition that not less than two hundred Menomonees will take the field — viz.:

S. C. Stambaugh.....Commd.
Augustin Grignon, Senr .....Captain.
Ch.s Grignon, Jr [1].....1st. Lieut. & Interp.
Robt. Grignon[2].....2d. Lieut.
George Johnston[3].....Captain.
James M. Boyd.....1st Lieut.
Wm. Powell[4].....2d. Lieut. & Interp.
Alex. J. Irwin. .Charged with the commissariat, with the Rank of 1st. Lieut. Infy.

As I have not time to copy the inclosed letter from Captain Clarke, it is enclosed just as it was received. It is impossible to render justice to the Public Service under our misserable arrangement at present regarding Interpreters.

There is but one attached to this Agency,[5] at the age of 63, and consequently no longer fit for active service. My son[6] has aided me in this Department of the Concern since

[1] Charles A. Grignon, son of Augustin.— Ed.

[2] Nephew of Augustin. Robert was wounded near Cassville, in the only engagement participated in by the expedition. He afterwards received a pension.— Ed.

[3] George Johnston was the first sheriff of Brown county.— Ed.

[4] For references to Powell, in British-Indian attack on Prairie du Chien, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, x., pp. 266, 288, 289; for account of his presence at the murder of Pierre Parquette, see *Id.*, vii., pp. 357, 358, 385, 387.— Ed.

[5] Richard Prickett. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, x., pp. 137, 140, where he is referred to as Prichet.— Ed.

[6] George Boyd, Jr., in whose handwriting the greater part of his father's letter-book was kept.— Ed.

my arrival here, as well as doing the major part of copying the correspondence necessarily belonging to the Agency. I trust that the pay of Interpreters may be increased for the present year, say from the 1st of June, 1832 and the sum of $360, allowed to him for his services, with the addition of two Rations per day. The sum of $350. with 2 Rations & House Rent are allowed to the Interpreter spoken of above. It is but a just and reasonable allowance, and one that will at once I hope be accorded to me by your Excellency.

Inclosed is a statement of the expenditures authorized by me to enable the Menomonees to move to the aid of the Commanding General, and which it is hoped you will take occasion to sanction & approve by the earliest opportunity.

With great respect, &c.

GEO. BOYD,
Ind. Agent.

To His Excy., G. B. Porter, Gov. of Michigan Territory.

P. S. Since taking charge of the Agency Property, I have ordered repairs to be made on the same absolutely essential to their preservation and entirely indispensible to the comfort & convenience of myself & my family, amounting to about one hundred Dollars — and which I earnestly recommend to the consideration and approval of your Excellency — and to request an increase of the Contingent Expenses of this Agency for the current year to that amount accordingly. A Council House is absolutely necessary to the Agency, & is therefore recommended to yr. Excy's consideration & approval. I believe such a building as would answer the purpose, could be put up for $350 or 400 dollars.

G. B.

July 24th, P. S. It gives me great pleasure to state, before closing my letter, that a considerable Band of Menomonees have just arrived, with the Head Chiefs of the Nation,[1] — and that it is confidently hoped, that a Band of 200 Warriors, will occupy a position at the Head of Winnebago Lake, in the course of five or six days from this time. The 200 stands of arms not yet arrived, but expected hourly.

G. B.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iv., pp. 185, 186. — ED.

I take the liberty also to enclose to your Excy. the copy of a note which I had just addressed to the N. York Indians.

TO STAMBAUGH'S STAFF.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
July 24th, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,— Having appointed you to the following commands in the Menomonee expedition, placed under the immediate command of Colo. S. C. Stambaugh, on the requisition to that effect of the Commanding General in the field of the U. S. Army, viz:

Augustin Grignon .....Captain.
Charles Grignon, Jr. .....1st. Lt. & Interpreter.
Robert Grignon .....2d. Lieut.
George Johnson... .....Captain.
Alex. J. Irwin.....Charged with the Commissariat & Q Mrs Dep't — with the rank of 1st. Lieut. of Inf'y.
Wm. Powell.....2d Lieut. & Interpreter.

You will on receipt of this communication signify to me in writing, your acceptance or non-acceptance of these appointments — and in case of the former, you will report to the Commanding Officer of the Expedition, Colo. S. C. Stambaugh, and obey his orders accordingly.

Very respectfully,
G. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

TO THE NEW YORK INDIANS.

U. S. INDIAN AGENCY,
GREEN BAY, July 25th, 1832.

BROTHERS,— Colonel Irwin of this place, and well known to you, has received Orders from General Scott, the President's Commanding Officer in this Indian War, to levy and carry to his aid, a number not exceeding 200 Volunteers.

It is my deliberate opinion, in which I am directed to associate the name of the Commanding Officer of Fort

Howard, who is equally well known to you,— that you can by promptly joining the standard of Col. Irwin, materially aid the operations of the Army in reducing the hostile Indians to obedience; and that in so doing, you will merit, as well as receive the thanks of the Government.

The call I believe to be strictly a legal one, and one that is recognized as such by Congress itself, inasmuch as they have voted money for bringing it to a speedy & successful termination. You cannot have any scruples as regards the Sacs & Foxes — as the great body of the Nation are not in arms against us — but merely a faction of these people, enemies to the United States, and consequently enemies to you.

Your friend & Brother

G. Boyd,

U. S. Ind. Agent.

To the Chiefs & Young Men of the sev^l. Bands of New York Indians in Michigan Territory.

TO COLONEL STAMBAUGH.

Indian Agency,
July 25, 1832.

Sir,— As you have been selected by the Menomonees to lead them in the coming conflict — and having yielded to their choice — I consider it my duty to inclose to you a copy of the Commanding General's instructions to Col. Hamilton, as to their movements in the field, and the position to be occupied by them in regard to the main army; and to request your strict adherence to them as far as practicable.

As much time, however, has elapsed since the above instructions were given, and the general line of operations of our army perhaps materially changed, it is determined, under all circumstances, to direct you to proceed with all possible expedition to Fort Winnebago — and immediately on your arrival there, to report yourself forthwith, by Express, to the Commanding General in the field, and to await his orders as to your further movements.

Wishing you all the success which the Government has

a right to anticipate from the Movement of the Menomonees—and that the honor and the interest of the nation may be your leading star, to guide and direct you in all your operations—

I have the Honor to be, Yours, &c.

GEO. BOYD,
Indian Agent.

Col. S. C. Stambaugh, Com. the Menomonee Expedition, Green Bay, M. T.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE.
GREEN BAY, July 25th, 1832.

SIR,—I have the honor herewith to inclose to your Excellency, a copy of my letter to the Officer in Command of the Menomonee Detachment, which will take up its line of March for Fort Winnebago, early tomorrow morning in aid of our Western Army: together with a copy of general instructions from General Atkinson to Colonel Hamilton, in the event of his being charged with the movements & command of the Menomonee Indians. Colo. Stambaugh having, however, been appointed to this command, a copy has been furnished to him, to govern his movements until a communication be had with the Commanding General and more specific orders received.

I take the liberty also to inclose the copy of a communication this moment received by the Express from Fort Winnebago from the Sub-Agent at that post, which is truly cheering at this moment of doubt & difficulty.

With great respect & in great haste,
Sir, Your mo. obed. St.

G. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

To His Excy. G. B. Porter, Gov. of the Mich. Territory.

TO GENERAL ATKINSON.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, July 25, 1832.

SIR,—I take the liberty to inclose to you, a copy of my instructions to the Officer in Command of the Menomonee Warriors who will move to your aid, by the way of Fort Winnebago, early in the morning, two hundred strong; and agreeably to your requisition on this Agency, by your communication of the 12th instant, conveyed to me by the hands of Colo. Hamilton, who is also charged by me with a letter to you on this subject, under date of the 20th instant. With hopes that this detachment may arrive in time to aid the Commanding General efficiently in bringing this War to a speedy and happy termination—

I have the Honor to be,
With great respect, Sir,
Your Most Obt Svt.
GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

To Brig. Gen. Atkinson, officer commanding the Western Army, U. States.

TO COLONEL STAMBAUGH.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
July 28, 1832.

DEAR SIR,— Your note by the Indian Express has been received. It was distinctly stated by me to the Commissary Lieut. Irwin, that two men were to be employed, acquainted with the manner of driving Cattle to take them from Cacalin,[1] where it was understood they were to have been delivered to you by Mr. Whitney, or his Agent — and admitting that no orders had been given by me on the subject, it became your duty to see that the cattle were entrusted to proper hands, and not committed entirely to the control & management of Indians. Captain Clarke will be immediately advised of the provisions which you have found it

[1] Grand Kakalin, now Kaukauna.— ED.

expedient to withdraw from the stores destined for Fort Winnebago. Hoping to have a more favorable account of the Expedition on your arrival at the Butte[1]— and with my remembrances to your command generally,

I am, sir, respectfully,
Your Ob. Serv't.
GEO. BOYD,
I. A.

To Col. S. C. Stambaugh.

TO CAPTAIN CLARKE.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
July 30th, 1832.

DEAR SIR,— The chiefs and head men of the Menomonees requested as a favor, that in their absence, some provisions should be given from time to time to their families — and in order to fulfil this promise to them, as well as to save them & the Garrison unnecessary trouble, I have to request that four Barrels of Pork & six Barrels of Flour be delivered to my Interpreter for that purpose, in Bulk, to be issued in small quantities at the Agency, as occasion may require.

Very respectfully,

4 Barrels of Pork, }
6 do of Flour. }

GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

Capt. Clarke, U. S. A., Comd Fort Howard.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Augt 12, 1832.

SIR,— I have the honor to enclose herewith to your Excy. the copy of a letter from Colo. Stambaugh, received at this Agency three days since, reporting the arrival of the Menomonees under his command at Fort Winnebago, three hundred strong. It is to be hoped that before this communication shall have reached you, Colo. Stambaugh will have reported his command to General Scott, and will have received his orders, as to the final disposition of the Menomonees, in the prosecution of this hitherto disastrous War.

[1] Grand Butte des Morts.— ED.

The day of Colo. S's departure, he handed me the inclosed list of demands against this Agency to the 6th of June inclusive — and which corresponds with the list forwarded to me by your Excy. in your letter of the 7th ultimo.

The check given to Mr. Grignon, is for services rendered as Interpreter — but given conditionally, as will appear from the copy of his receipt to Stambaugh, for the same, inclosed. I shall delay acting on these accounts, until your answer to my letter of the 23d. ulto. shall have been received.

In haste I have the honor to be
Your Obt. Svt.
GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agt.

To His Excy. G. B. Porter, Govr. of Terry. of Michigan, Detroit.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Augt. 12, 1832.

SIR,— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th of June, received here late in July, directing me to draw on the assistant Commissary at this Post for 8,000 Rations for the subsistence of friendly Indians seeking protection within the Agency and to report that no issues whatever have been made to Indians under this law, none having been driven within our lines for protection since its receipt. In the early part of June a very partial supply of Pork & Flour & some ammunition was issued to two Bands of the New York Indians, and issues were occasionally made to several small bands of the Winnebagoes — all of which will be regularly introduced into my accounts for Expenditures within this Agency for the quarter ending the 30th of September next, and which I trust will meet your entire approbation.

I have the Honor to be, &c.
G. B., U. S. I. A.

To Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
Aug. 13th, 1832, 11 o'c: P. M. Mond. Night.

SIR,— Since closing my letter to your Excy. of yesterday, news has reached us from Fort Winnebago of a decisive Battle having been fought about the 1st instant, between General Atkinson & Black Hawk. Below is the detail, given in a communication from Capt. Plymton,[1] to Capt. Clarke Commanding Fort Howard.

H. QRS. FT. WINNEBAGO, Augt. 9th, 1832.

Mr. Rolette[2] arrived last evening from Prairie du Chien and gives us the news of a decisive Battle having taken place about 30 miles up the Mississippi between General Atkinson and Black Hawk last Thursday (this day week). It appears that General A. with the main body of his army pursued the Inds. on their trail: at the same time a detachment on board of a Steam Boat[3] was plying up and down the Mississippi, I suppose where they expected the Indians would come upon the River to cross. A Sioux Ind. spoke them and informed [them] that the Sacs were just below. The boat immediately put about, ran down, and on arriving opposite where Black Hawk was reported to be, he came out with a number of Canoes with a white flag hoisted. It was supposed to surrender, but Lieuts. Holmes & Kingsbury[4] it appears were in Command of the Detach-

[1] Joseph C. Plympton, captain of the 5th infantry. Born in Massachusetts; entered the army as 2d lieut. 4th inf., Jan. 3, 1812; 1st lieut., July 31, 1813; transferred to 5th inf., May 17, 1815; captain, June 1, 1821; major, 2d inf., Sept. 22, 1840; lieut. col. 7th inf., Sept. 9, 1846; colonel 1st inf., June 9, 1853; died June 5, 1860. Brevet major, June 1, 1831, for ten years' active service in one grade; brevet colonel, April 18, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Cerro Gordo.— ED.

[2] Joseph Rolette. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ix., 293–296, 465–467.— ED.

[3] The "Warrior."— ED.

[4] Theophilus H. Holmes, then 2d lieut. of the 7th inf., who was brevetted major, Sept. 23, 1846, for gallant conduct at Monterey; and James W. Kingsbury, then 1st lieut. of the 1st inf., and in 1837 becoming captain. Their conduct on this occasion was contemptible; nothing could be more unsoldierly than firing on the bearers of a flag of truce, and refusing quar-

ment, and Holmes ordered his men to fire upon them, and between 20 & 30 Inds. were killed & the rest retreated to the Shore. Evening came on & the Steam Boat having exhausted her wood, was obliged to run back to Prairie du Chien that evening for Wood — returned the next morning at 10 o'clock, at which moment they heard the musketry of Genl. A's. land command, and in a few moments the Inds. came rushing to the bank of the Mississippi, which brought them between two fires, which enabled our troops very soon to complete the Work. About 30 prisoners are now at Fort Crawford which are women & children except 3 or 4 males; but Bl'k Hawk has made his escape with about 20 Indians. It is supposed he crossed the river Wednesday evening after the Steam Boat left for Wood. One hundred Sioux warrior's are however in pursuit of them. Genl. Atkinson has passed down the river to Fort Armstrong, at which place he has ordered all the Sacs and Fox Indians to meet him; if they demur he has given them to understand that he will march upon them as Enemies. Lieut Johnston with the company under his command was in the fight. Genl. Scott was at Galena last report.

We wait with much impatience for the official report of this business, and which may be expected in the course of a few days. In haste, &c.

Before the Menomonees marched from the Bay, the chiefs urged to know if the Arms purchased, of which Your Excy. has been informed, were intended to be given to them or not — and were at once given to understand that I could exercise no discretion in the matter — and that their request would be reported by me for your decision. I should be glad therefore to receive your orders on the Subject, by an early opportunity, as it will be found difficult to recover them, if they be suffered to retain them after their return to us, and which may perhaps be looked for in 10 or 15 days, should they not be employed by Genl. Scott across the Mis-

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ter to a party of half-starved savages who had been driven into war by abuse, and who now had plainly expressed their desire to abandon the contest.— Ed.

sissippi. Will any further allowance be made to these people should the arms be given to them? Or will any pay be allowed to those who are employed in the Expedition & who have marched with their own arms? Perhaps it would be as well to be guided in the allowances in the present case by the precedent established by the Winnebago disturbance a few years ago, when the Honble. Secretary of War, then Gov. of this Territory,[1] was on the Spot, and when the Menomonees as well as the New York Indians, received a certain pay from the government for similar services.

Most respectfully, &c.

GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

To His Excy. G. B. Porter, Gov. of the Territory of Michigan, Detroit.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Augt. 15th, 1832.

SIR,—I have the honor herewith to transmit to your Excy a copy of the last communication received from Colo. Stambaugh commanding the Menomonees sent from this place to the aid of General Atkinson—and to remain.

With every respect & consideration,
Sir, Your Mo. Obed. St.

G. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agt.

His Exc'y Governor Porter, Detroit.

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[1] Lewis Cass. The treaty referred to is that concluded August 11, 1827, at Butte des Morts, with the Chippewas, Menomonees, and Winnebagoes. Cass and Thomas L. McKenney were the commissioners.— ED.

TO CAPTAIN CLARK.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Sept. 1, 1832.

DEAR SIR,— Mr. Arndt,[1] the bearer of this note to you, informed me that the Provisions taken from his Boats by Col. Stambaugh on his way with the Menomonees to the Portage, belonged to him, and not to the U. States, as I supposed when I wrote you on the subject. I must therefore request that you will order four Barrels of Flour and six Barrels of Pork to be delivered to Mr. Arndt — and that this quantity be charged to the Menomonee Expedition, under the requisition of Genl. Atkinson — and for which my receipts will be given to the company.

Very respectfully,

4 Barrels of Flour,
6 Barrels of Pork.

GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agt.

To Capt. Clarke, Comg. Fort Howard, Green Bay.

TO COLONEL STAMBAUGH.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Sept. 1, 1832.

SIR,— Your general Report of the Menomonee Expedition intrusted to your command, and dated the 28th ulto. has been received — and it gives me great pleasure to state to you that it meets my approbation, as I have no doubt it will that of the government.

There is much consolation to every friend of the poor Menomonees to find that their ready appearance in the field, in aid of the United States, against their red Brethren has been pointedly adverted to in terms of high praise,

[1] John P. Arndt, prominent in Green Bay history.— ED.

both by Genl. Scott and Atkinson — and I trust that in due season their services will be duly appreciated and paid by the government. A copy of your entire report shall be duly forwarded to His Excy. the Governor of this Territory, as soon as one can be written out. In the meantime, wishing you a pleasant & safe journey to the point of your new destination.

I remain in haste,
With much regard,
Your Mo. Obt. Svt.
GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

Col. Stambaugh, Green Bay.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Sept. 2, 1832.

SIR,—I have the honor herewith to inclose to Yr. Excy. a Copy of Colo. Stambaugh's Report to me of the Menomonee Expedition, called into the service of the United States by the order of Genl. Atkinson, and entrusted to his command — as also my answer to this communication — together with the Muster Rolls of these people while employed on the Expedition, as well as for the time they were encamped near the Agency House for the protection of the Green Bay Settlement. It would be very desirable that their services should be paid for, before the navigation ceases, and particularly so, as they are to receive nothing for the present year under their treaty stipulations and which has been a sore disappointment to them.

As yet nothing has been said to them by me on the subject of the alterations in their Treaty by the Senate, as I am in hourly expectation of receiving your instructions in

relation to this matter. By this treaty[1] as it now stands, the Menomonees are required to relinquish the beautiful Country set apart by the former, or Stambaugh's treaty, as their agricultural domain, the most fertile and valuable portion of all their Country, to the New York Indians, who by this cession are to receive lands infinitely more valuable than those relinquished by them at the Grand Cacalin, and are moreover to receive the valuable consideration not exceeding 25,000 dollars for their improvements in the territory thus abandoned; while the poor Menomonees are pushed back upon Wolf River, on lands of decidedly very inferior quality, and without any equivalent for this exchange whatever.

Will your Excellency, therefore, permit me respectfully to suggest, that in the event of the Menomonees being brought to give their consent to this Treaty — that the following proviso be admitted — viz: "That the improvements of the New York Indians at Cacalin be estimated and allowed for by the U. States at the round sum of twenty-five thousand dollars — and that 10,000 dollars of this sum be appropriated for the use of the Menomonee Nation, in consideration of this exchange of lands in favor of the New York Indians: and that this sum be placed in the Government funds, under the immediate direction and control of the President of the U. States — the interest whereof annually to be applied, under his direction, to the purchase of Corn, to be distributed at Mid-Winter, and early in the Spring of each year, to the wants of the Menomonee Nation, forever."

In ordinary years the interest of this sum would Yield to the Menomonee Nation, one thousand Bushels of Corn — a never failing supply, at times when those improvident people are always more or less pinched with hunger, and one fraught with more positive & substantial benefit to them

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[1] Concluded at Washington, February 8, 1831, by John H. Eaton and S. C. Stambaugh, commissioners; ratified July 9, 1832. See in this connection, "McCall's Journal," *ante*.— Ed.

and to their Children than all the Mills & farmers in the Universe.

In haste, & with every respect & consideration
I have the Honor to be
Yr. Excy's Mo. Obt Svt.
GEO. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agt.

To His Excy. G. B. Porter. Gov. of the T. Michigan. Detroit.

TO GOVERNOR PORTER.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Nov. 4th, 1832.

DEAR SIR,— I have the honor herewith to transmit to your Excellency, my accounts & Vouchers for the quarter ending on the 30th of September, and comprising four months — and it may truly be said four months of expenditure & embarrassment for all concerned in Indian affairs:— together with my drafts on the Hon. the Secretary of War, in your favor for their amount, viz $1,660.50, and which I hope and trust will receive not only your approbation, but that of the Government.

This 7 o'c. Sunday Evening, and when it is hoped here Your Excy. will have reached the portage.

Wishing you a pleasant journey to your Capitol, and a happy meeting with your family— and with my best respects to Capt. Bowyer. I remain with every respect & regard & in haste,

Your Excy's. friend & servant,
G. BOYD,
U. S. I. A.

To His Excy Governor Porter, Detroit.

CERTIFICATE TO INDIAN INTERPRETERS.

GREEN BAY, Novr. 7th, 1832.

I hereby certify that Charles A. Grignon, Robert Grignon, William Powell, & James M. Boyd, were employed as

Interpreters in the Menomonee Expedition, called into the service of the United States under General Atkinson's requisition on this Agency of the 12th of July, 1832:—and it is respectfully recommended to the Honorable the Secretary of War, that a reasonable compensation be granted to them as Indian Interpreters.

GEORGE BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

AGENCY EMPLOYEES.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Nov. 9th, 1832.

DR. SIR,—Inclosed is a correct list of the persons employed within this agency—with their places of birth, and the allowance made to each per annum as required by the War Department, and which was omitted to be forwarded in my communications to you of the 7th inst. viz.,

George Boyd...	Indian Agent..	Maryland..	$1500	per an.
Rich'd Prickett.	Interpreter.....		480	"
Rufus Hunter..	Gun & Blacksmith		480	"
Jos. Jourdain	ditto.....		480	"

With great respect,
&c &c &c
G. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agt.

To his Excy Governor Porter, Detroit.

☞ together with one of the Licenses granted within this Agency between the 30th of September, 1831, & the 31st of October 1832, as required by the War Department, and which were omitted to be forwarded in my communication to your Exc'y of the 7th instant.

Very resp'y
G. B.
U. S. I. A.

LICENSES TO FUR TRADERS.

List of Licenses granted by the Indian Agent at Green Bay, between the 30th of September, 1831, & the 31st of October, 1832.—viz.

Date of License 1832.	Names of Traders.	Location.	Amount of Bonds. Drs.	cts.	Amount of Outfit. Drs.	cts.	Remarks.
Jany 27..	Wm. Powell.....	Butte des Morts. ...	400	.	177	.01	
Mar. 21..	Francis Roy..	Portage	1,000		464	.50	
Apr. 13..	Dan[l] Whitney.....	Duck Creek	2,900		1,429	.07	
Sep. 15..	Aug. Grignon	Portage	1,507	22	1,014	.45	
18..	Stans. Chappieu	Menome River.....	1,624	67	1,249	.35	
18.	John Lawe	Portage	1,978	48	1,956	.96	
15..	Aug'n Grignon.....	Butte des Morts	2,111	81	1,223	.62	
20..	Amable Grignon	Upper Ouisconsin...	1,268	58	1,267	.65	
20..	Joshua I. Boyd[1].....	Neeshotijewayoc or 2 Rivers, on Lake..	1,058		117	.89	[1] Murdered by a drunken Chippeway, near the Islands at the mouth of Green Bay, 21st Oct. 1832, merely for refusing him a further credit!
Oct. 4..	Chs. Tuller	Lower Rapids, U. O.	1,300		795		
4..	Wm. Powell	Butte des Morts.....	1,548	92	1,099	84	
27..	Louis Grignon	Portage Ouisconsin..	1,300		584	.80	
27..	Alex. A. Irwin	do	1,400		657	.39	
	Ind. Agency Office Nov. 9, 1832, G. Boyd, U. S. Ind. Agt.	Drs.	19,757	68	12,037	.57	

FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS.

Abstract of disbursements by George Boyd, Ind. Agent at Green Bay, for the Months of June, July, August & Sept., 1832.

Lewis Thompson — To building & repair of houses for Agent and Sub Agent.....					$110.08
Wm. Fearson — Contingencies Ind. Dept.—.....					4.00
Jos. Ould —	"	"	"		7.00
Thos. Skennidon —	"	"	"	—	9.00
Harpin Johnston —	"	"	"	—	150.00
F. F. Hamilton —	"	"	"	—	38.44
R. & A. J. Irwin —	"	"	"	—	58.49

Geo. Boyd — Pay of Agent	500.00
Richard Prickett, Pay of Interpreter	160.00
Jos. Jourdain — Pay of Gun and Blacksmith —	160.00
Rufus Hunter — " " " " " —	160.00
F. F. Hamilton — Purchase of provisions	96.82
R. & A. J. Irwin — " " iron, steel, coal, &c.	46.82
R. & A. J. Irwin — Purchase of presents	159.85
	$1,660.50

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE, GREEN BAY,
September 30th, 1832.

GEORGE BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

Abstract of Provisions purchased for issue to the Indians in the months of June, July, August & September, 1832.

Purchased from F. F. Hamilton (drawn from the U. S. Stores at fort Howard, Green Bay), June 15, 1832, Amount $96.82; lbs. of Pork, 5,873; lbs. of Flour, 8,201; Bushels Corn, 103; Gallons of Whiskey, 31½.

U. STATES INDIAN AGENCY,
GREEN BAY, Sept. 30th, 1832.

I certify on honor that the above mentioned provisions have been purchased at the lowest market price, and that the amount paid therefor, is reasonable & just.

GEORGE BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

Abstract of Articles purchased for presents to Ind's. by George Boyd, Ind. Agent at Green Bay for the months of June, July, August and September, 1832, viz:

Purchased from R. & A. J. Irwin — 236 Fish-Hooks; 3 Balls of Twine; 12 yds. of Gartering; ⅝ yds. of Strouding; 10 lbs. of Shot; 2 lbs. of Vermillion; 2 Looking Glasses; 468 lbs. of

Tobacco; 5 Shirts; 1 Prepared Deerskin; 24 doz. of Pipes; 9½ yds. of Cotton; 2¼ yds. of Cloth; 1 Canoe; 1 Hat; 4 Handkerchiefs; 3½ yds. of Ribbon; 124 Flints; 1 Blanket. Amount, $159.85.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Sept. 30th, 1832.

I certify on honor, that the above mentioned Articles have been purchased at the fair market price, and that the amount paid therefor, is reasonable & just.

G. BOYD,
U. S. Ind. Agent.

Abstract of Presents delivered to the Ind's. by Geo. Boyd, Ind. Agent at Green Bay, for the Months of June, July, Aug't & Sept., 1832.

Delivered to Messrs. R. & A. J. Irwin — 236 Fish-Hooks delivered to the young Indians belonging to the Band encamped at the Agency for the protection of G. Bay; 3 Balls of Twine, ditto; 12 yds. of Gartering to Grisly Bear, for Indian medical attendance; 5-8 yds. of Strouding to Nee-Mau, the Sturgeon, very aged & blind man; 10 lbs. of Shot to the young men of Grisly Bear's Band; 2 lbs. of Vermillion to the chiefs and head men; 2 Looking Glasses to Silver & Wabose; 468 lbs. of Tobacco to the chiefs & head men of the Men. while encamped at Green Bay & to various parties of Winnebagoes & Chipp. visiting the agency during 4 months; 5 Shirts to Sturgeon (1 shirt), Okeetick 1, Grisly Bear 1, Ayawmataw 1, Sock Grist [?] 1— 5 1 Dressed Deer Skin to the old Blind man the Sturgeon; 24 dozen of Pipes to the chiefs & head men of the Menomonees; 9½ yds. of Cotton to Grisly Bear, for Indian Doctor; 2¼ yds. of Cloth, ditto; 1 Canoe to Grisly Bear, Canoe broke by accident; 1 Hat to Grisly Bear; 4 Handkerchiefs, 1 to Grisly Bear, 1 to Yawmatau, 1 to Silver, 1 to Waw-bose; 3½ yads of Ribbon to Grisly Bear's wife; 124 Flints to the

young men when encamped at the Agency; 1 3-pli Blanket to Nee-mau the Sturgeon, an aged and blind man. Amount, $159.85.

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE,
GREEN BAY, Sept. 30, 1832.

We the undersigned do hereby certify that the above articles were all delivered to the Indians in our presence, as stated above.

(Signed) RICH'D his X mark. PRICKETT.

(Signed) JAMES M. BOYD.

Witness to R. Prickett's signature.
(Signed) G. BOYD, Jun.

HOW WISCONSIN CAME BY ITS LARGE GERMAN ELEMENT.

BY KATE ASAPHINE EVEREST, M. A.[1]

According to the census of 1880, the latest national census available for our purposes, Wisconsin has a larger percentage of German-born residents than any other of the United States; and in its total of German-born population it stands fourth. All of the census reports since 1850 show a decennial increase in Wisconsin, in the percentage of German-born, both in relation to the entire population and to the total foreign-born population of the State.

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[1] Fellow in History, in the University of Wisconsin. All foot-notes in this article, not otherwise signed, are by the author. See her article on "Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin," in *Trans. Wis. Acad. Sci., Arts, and Letters*, viii., pp. 288–298.— ED.

AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE.— This work was done in connection with the historical *seminar* of the University of Wisconsin, under the direction of Professors Frederick J. Turner and Charles H. Haskins. For material and suggestions in the preparation of the paper I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. W. H. Rosenstengel, Prof. Frank Cramer, formerly of Lawrence University, Mr. K. K. Kennan, Capt. Julius Schlaich, Hon. P. V. Deuster, Rev. Theodore Nickel, Hon. John J. Senn, and others. The bulk of material I have obtained from the rich stores of the State Historical Society, whose library officers have throughout tendered me the utmost facilities for research, and have even imported books and pamphlets from Germany, that threw light on the subject of my investigation. I am also indebted to the courtesy of the officers of the Milwaukee free library for the use of books. In the final revision of the work, I have been greatly assisted by Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, editor of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.

The term "German" in this article includes German Austrians, German Bohemians, and German Swiss, where these classes can be ascertained. The census reports, however, ignore the distinction between German and non-German Austrians, Bohemians, and Swiss; the reports of 1850, 1870, 1880, and 1885 do not include Swiss and Austrians, while that of 1860 includes Austrians but not Swiss. Unless otherwise stated, the statistics of German population which I cite include only those born in Germany.

Table of German-born population, in Wisconsin.

Census.	German-born.	Percentage of entire population of state.	Percentage of foreign-born population of state.
1850	38,064	11.3	32.4
1860	123,879	15.97	44.7
1870	162,314	15.39	45.0
1880	184,328	14.0	45.0
1885	265,756	16.99	53.8

This might seem to indicate a decrease since 1860, but were the children of German parentage born in Wisconsin,— now counted as native American population,— included in these estimates, it would show very different results. For the first time, the census of 1880 gives us the natives of Wisconsin of German parentage; the number of those with both parents German is stated as 226,325, which added to the German-born gives a total of 410,653 German-Americans in a population of 1,315,497, or 31.2 per cent.[1] Considering then the fact that in 1850 at least a large per cent. of the Germans in the state were born in Germany, it is clear that there has been a decided increase in the percentage of Germans in the state. Moreover, according to the state census of 1885, they formed 16.99 per cent. of the total population. which in comparison with the 14 per cent. of 1880 indicates a very striking increase.

Some further statistics will enable us to see when the largest numbers came to the state. Löher, writing in 1847, says, "For three years the immigrants have turned to Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin; of the 100,000 German immigrants of the past year, at least 25,000 have gone to Wisconsin."[2] But we must regard these figures as very large, for he further estimates the number of Germans in Wis-

[1] J. E. Chamberlain gives the proportion of Germans in Wisconsin in 1880. as 35 per cent.— *Century Mag.*, vi., p. 767.

[2] Franz Löher's *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati and Leipzig, 1847), p. 278. This work is referred to below, as *Löher.*

consin in 1846 as 100,000, and the population of the state as 250,000.[1] Some state immigration reports have been published, which, though very incomplete,[2] give us some idea of the period when the largest numbers came to Wisconsin.

The first report which contains a definite statement of the number of immigrants was made in 1853 by Herman Hærtel, of Milwaukee, then state immigration commissioner. It was his estimate that from 16,000 to 18,000 Germans came to Wisconsin during the eight months which his report covered,—figures which he states are only approximate,—and that the German immigration of 1853 exceeded that of the three years next preceding; and though the entire immigration to the United States during 1853 had little if at all exceeded that of the year preceding, Wisconsin received at least 15 per cent. more than in 1852.[3]

The immigration of 1854 is said to have been the largest to Wisconsin.[4] Fred W. Horn was commissioner for that year, and his estimate for the months of May, June, and July, gathered from the number who visited his office, from the inspection of the books of some of the ticket offices, and from other means of observation, was, that during that period the number of German immigrants to Wisconsin could not have been less than 16,000. From information received by him in those months, he judged that the emigration during the summer and fall of 1854 would be considerable, and that Wisconsin as usual would receive more than her share. Apparently no further report was made until 1870. From May to November (inclusive), that year, the arrival in Wisconsin of Germans intending to settle, aggregated 9,127, of whom 7,037 came by way of Chicago, and 2,090 direct to Milwaukee. It was thought as

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[2] Statistics were obtained for Milwaukee only, or sometimes for Chicago; while the northern ports were entirely neglected, and even those for Milwaukee and Chicago were incomplete.

[3] *Governor's Mess. and Accomp. Docs., Wis.*, 1854.

[4] Anton Eickhoff's *In der neuen Heimath: Geschichtliche Mittheilungen über die deutschen Einwanderer in allen Theilen der Union* (New York, 1885).

many more came by way of Green Bay, Manitowoc, and other lake ports.

The following statistics of arrivals of Wisconsin-bound Germans are obtainable from other state immigration reports:[1]

1872	* 5,190.	1880	* 8,079.
1873	* 3,031.	1881	* 17,074.
1874	† 2,458.	1882	† 18,922.
1875	† 1,479.	1883	† 17,446.
1879	† 2,702.	1884	† 14,539.

* For Milwaukee and Chicago (Wisconsin bound).

† For Milwaukee only. No report for Chicago.

The number of German-born in the state, at each census from 1850 to 1885, is given in our opening table (p. 300). These figures show that the largest German immigration has been in the decades 1840 to 1850, 1850 to 1860, and 1880 to 1890. To be more exact, we may place the largest immigration periods in the years 1846–54, and 1881–84, which are not only periods that correspond to those of the greatest German immigration to the United States, but they are also the times when Wisconsin probably received a much larger proportion of Germans than other states.

The causes of the presence of this large German element among us must be looked for, not primarily in plans to form a German state in the Northwest, though such plans have undoubtedly had their influence, but they are rather to be looked for in economic, political, and social influences. Among these were the natural advantages which this state possessed for Germans in the way of climate and productiveness, the low price of lands,— due to the abundance of government land and the peculiar policy of the state in disposing of its land grants for schools at low prices, for the sake of attracting immigration,— and the opening of the

[1] The report for 1872 includes the months April to November for Milwaukee, and May to August for Chicago; that of 1873 is April to November for Milwaukee, and May to August for Chicago; 1874, April 1 to December 15; 1875, for the calendar year; 1880, May to December 31; while those for 1881–84 give the total for the year.

state at an opportune moment. The German spirit in music, politics, and social life which early showed itself, particularly in Milwaukee, and which had its influence in shaping a liberal state constitution, doubtless attracted the better elements. Again, the success of the Germans who came early to the state, particularly those from north Germany, has served to draw many others from the same region; and finally, the state immigration agents, many of whom have been Germans, have directed their attention chiefly to Germany, with some success.

Ideal Schemes — The Effort to Form a German State.

While the process of German immigration and settlement has been determined largely by practical considerations in regard to the forming of homes and obtaining the means of subsistence, there was for some years an agitation both here and in Germany, which was intended to concentrate German settlement in the United States, and to widen the field of German influence. This was the effort to form a German state in America.[1]

Since the awakening of national feeling in Germany in the early part of this century, there has been a growing desire among German patriots to preserve the national spirit and customs. It is peculiar to modern German emigration, that by it no territory has been added to Germany, and that in great part the emigrants have been lost to the Fatherland. Accordingly, it has been a problem with many recent German writers on economics and colonization, how to prevent this apparent misfortune, and to this end various plans have been proposed.

Societies were formed in Germany with the object of making organized settlements under the direction of chosen leaders. The most important of these was at Giessen. This

[1] To this term two meanings seem to have been given: first, it meant a German settlement with its own local government, which was designed to become the centre of a large German element; again, it was more commonly used to refer to some one of the United States which was to be Germanized.

society was formed in 1833, its membership embracing several hundred persons in Hesse, Westphalia, and the Saxonies, among them many wealthy and educated men. In 1834 a large delegation from this company crossed to America in two ships, intending to form a new Germany beyond the seas. They possessed abundant resources for carrying out their plan, but the enterprise failed on account of the inexperience of the leaders, and their ignorance, not only of the new country, but of practical life in general. Many left at each stopping place west of the seaboard. The remnant settled near St. Louis. The bell which they brought for their proposed *stadt haus* was hung up in a barn, and the fine telescope for the intended observatory was left to grace a log cabin.[1]

As a consequence of disappointment attending the political reaction in Germany after the uprising of 1830, many sought liberty in America. In 1832, in Rhenish Bavaria, it was planned to send a deputation to the United States to communicate with our government in regard to purchasing a tract of land to be settled by Germans and to be called a new Germany.[2] But I cannot learn that anything came of the project.

On this side of the ocean, the agitation of the question of a German state in North America began about 1835. The immigration that commenced in the early thirties included many educated young men of every profession in Germany, who were largely political refugees. The new atmosphere into which they came was in strong contrast with their aspirations. They felt the American life to be sordid and low, both in religion and politics; they complained, too, of a lack of appreciation of the higher ideals, and a tendency to ignore the worth of the German character.

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[1] *Löher*, p. 278.

[2] *Niles's Register*, xliii., pp. 196 *et seq.* The comment is as follows: "We shall give all such as these a hearty welcome, but the idea of settling in a large and compact body cannot be approved. In coming hither they should expect that their children, at least, will * * * be fully incorporated into the body of citizens." See also Neumann's *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten*, ii., p. 496.

GERMAN POPULATION OF WISCONSIN

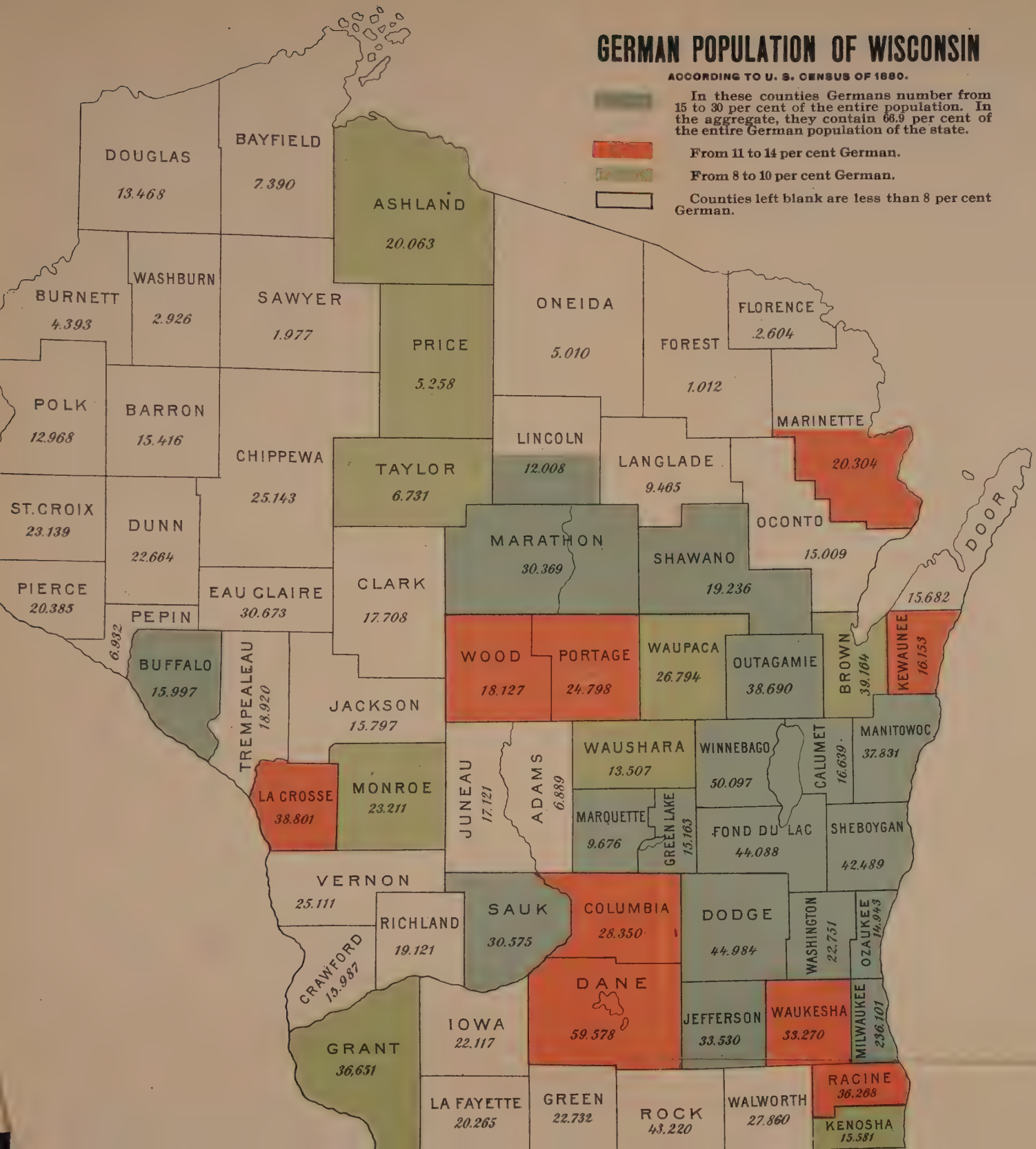
ACCORDING TO U. S. CENSUS OF 1880.

In these counties Germans number from 15 to 30 per cent of the entire population. In the aggregate, they contain 66.9 per cent of the entire German population of the state.

From 11 to 14 per cent German.

From 8 to 10 per cent German.

Counties left blank are less than 8 per cent German.



Such sentiments as these gave rise to the plan to found in America a German state, or young Germany. Most of the refugees were collected in New York and Philadelphia. In New York, a society was formed in 1835, called "Germania." Its object was to maintain a strong German character, German customs and education, to work for a better condition of things in Germany, and to assist other refugees with advice and material aid.[1] The United States government having granted territory to the Polish fugitives,[2] "Germania" sent a memorial to congress, says Löher, asking for land for the German fugitives, and offering to pay for it after a period of time, their object being to set up an establishment here, in which to work for Germany. But congress refused their request. Their next plan was to direct German settlers to some one state of the Union, and thus to get control of it and make it a German state. There was disagreement, however, as to the place. Some wished Texas, others Oregon, while the majority were in favor of the states between the Mississippi and the Great Lakes.[3] Later, the society disbanded, and its members were scattered over the United States, many of them as newspaper editors.

These plans found sympathy in Philadelphia, among the bolder spirits. In 1836 a meeting was held, at which the question of forming a German state was debated, a constitution was adopted, and directors chosen.[4] Two Pennsylvania newspapers worked for it, the *Alte und Neue Welt* of Philadelphia, edited by Dr. Wesselhöft, a German fugitive,

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[1] Gustav Körner's *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Cincinnati, 1880), p. 108.

[2] A memorial was sent to congress by two hundred and thirty-five Polish refugees, asking for land; and June 30, 1834, an act was passed granting them thirty-six sections of public land in Illinois or Michigan. After ten years a patent was to be given, on the condition that they should have actually inhabited and cultivated the land and should have paid the minimum price.— *Acts, 23rd Cong.*, 1st sess. (1834), p. 153. For memorial and committee report, see *Senate Docs.*, vol. iv., p. 313.

[3] *Löher*, p. 281.

[4] *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 70.

and the *Adler des Westens*, of Pittsburgh, which published plans for founding a state. Another project was united with this: namely, to Germanize Pennsylvania, by establishing the German language in the courts and schools on an equality with the English, but the plan was defeated in the Pennsylvania legislature. The only practical result of this movement was the purchase of 12,000 acres of land in Missouri, and the founding of the town of Hermann, in Gasconade county, on the Missouri river.

Löher, who in 1847 wrote of this movement in behalf of a German-American state, spoke thus in favor of it: "Germans can remain Germans in America; they will mingle and intermarry with non-Germans and adopt their ways, but they can still remain essentially German. They can plant the vine on the hills and drink it with the happy song and dance, they can have German schools and universities, German literature and art, German science and philosophy, German courts and assemblies, — in short they can form a German state, in which the German language is as much the popular and official language as the English is now, and in which the German spirit rules."[1]

To the question, Where shall this state be? he replies, "The customary answer is, in the Northwest; for the 'ruling centre' of North America will be between the waters of the Ohio and Missouri rivers." The prospect as he saw it was, that the Northwest[2] would become predominantly German, since the Irish remained in the east or in the cities, and the Americans were scattering through the Far West. Löher favored the plan of making one state a centre in which to concentrate, and proposed as suitable for that purpose, Wisconsin, Iowa, or Texas. The advantages of these states were, a climate favorable to the Germans, natural advantages and adaptability to agriculture, and the fact that they already had relatively the largest German populations. He further urged the fact that they are so far

[1] *Löher*, p. 502.

[2] By the Northwest, I mean the old political Northwest, the states in the triangle between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the Great Lakes.

west that the Anglo-American element had not yet gotten control, that there were millions of acres of unsold and fruitful land, that there the immigrant was worth most, and the backwoodsman makes no quarrel with him about his language. The constitutions of these new states, too, were liberal. Texas would have been his preference had it remained apart from the Union, but otherwise he expressed no choice.[1]

Later, the plan of Germanizing an American state was generally given up by the German political refugees in America, but writers of that nationality continued to agitate it, though they would put it under the direction and support of the German government. Thus the same plan is advocated by Brater, in the Bluntschli-Brater *Staats-Wörterbuch*, published in 1857. In opposition to those who favored colonization and settlement under government direction to other lands than America, he maintained that North America was the only goal of emigration worthy of official support, and the only one within the power of government to support, since the masses were turning in that direction. He follows Löher and others in choosing the Northwest, since the prosperity and preference of the Germans must be regarded as the best evidence of its suitability. To the objection that the Anglo-American element might interfere, he answers that the legislative power of the American central government is too limited to make it lawfully possible for the Anglo-Americans successfully to oppose this danger to their sovereign authority; though it might hasten a catastrophe feared by many observers of American affairs: namely, the breaking up of the Union into two or more groups of states, in part under Anglo-American, in part under German rule.[2]

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[1] A similar movement, which shows the tendency of the time, though with a very different object in view, was that of the *Arbeiter-bund* or labor union in New York, about 1848, at the head of which was Weitling, a German revolutionist. This society planned to establish a communistic settlement in Wisconsin.—Ely's *Labor Movement*, p. 220.

[2] "Wir dürfen ebensowenig auf die Frage eingehen, welchen Eindruck bei den Anglo-Amerikanern die Erscheinung eines vorwiegend deutschen

To decide upon a suitable place for colonization, Robert von Mohl, a prominent publicist, recommended the proposition before the Würtemberg chamber, that a commission consisting of a landed proprietor, a physician, and a statesman, be sent to choose the most suitable place for German settlement, and that they report the conditions,— moral, physical, and otherwise.[1]

William Roscher, in his *Political Economy*, published in 1878, urges that the German government provide for emigration, but he adds: "Much might be gained if the German emigrants to the United States would concentrate themselves in one state, and thus make it a German state. For many reasons, Wisconsin is best adapted to that purpose."[2]

An example of how it was proposed to carry out this movement may be found in Karl Heinzen's plan, published in 1855 in the Louisville *Pioneer*, of which he was the editor. He suggested that a beginning be made with 50,000 acres of land, for which a fund should be raised; that an executive committee be appointed, whose duty it should be to take charge of the fund and to form the most favorable regulations for the first settlement; that the settlers should be provided on credit with land, and the equipment necessary for pioneer life; when the number reached two hundred, a constitution should be drawn up, and a demo-

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Staates und das Auftreten deutscher Repräsentanten in Washington hervorrufen möchte. Jedenfalls ist die Verfassungs-mächtige Macht der Central-organe gegenüber den Einzelstaaten zu beschränkt, als das es den Angloamerikanern dann noch möglich wäre, dieser Gefährdung ihrer Alleinherrschaft auf gesetzlichem Weg erfolgreich entgegenzutreten. Gewaltschritte würden einem schwer überwindlichen Widerstande der Deutschen begegnen und vielleicht nur die Katastrophe beschleunigen, die von manchen Kennern amerikanischer Zustände vorhergesagt wird: die Auflösung der Union in mehrere selbstständige Staaten-Komplexe, zum Theil unter Anglo-amerikanischer, zum Theil unter deutscher Herrschaft."— Bluntschli-Brater, *Staats Wörterbuch*, i., p. 598.

[1] *Ibid.*, *note*, p. 598.

[2] Roscher's *Principles of Political Economy* (Lalor, trans., Chicago, 1878), ii., p. 371, *note*. See also Roscher and Jannasch, *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik, und Auswanderung* (Leipsic, 1885), p. 344, *note*.

cratic state formed, to become by its educational institutions an outpost of culture. For this purpose some one of the Northwestern states, he thought, would be the most suitable.[1]

That this movement came to nothing in the way that was anticipated was inevitable from the character of the Germans, — "in thought gigantic, in action disunited." Löher, the author of this sentiment, thus further characterizes the German hereditary sins: "Ideas spring up like mushrooms, and our thoughts readily soar to heaven, but when the time for execution comes, * * * then men are disunited, * * * and matters are left to take their own course."[2]

In the western states many large German settlements were formed, especially in Ohio, but they did not become centres of attraction, nor of any political importance. The masses of the colonists had German sentiments, but not the German ideals. They would not suffer themselves to be directed by their countrymen, especially since the leaders, who were often idealists and free-thinkers, were men far removed from the general German sentiment; but the immigrants settled rather where business interests were most favorable. The general sentiment of later years is well expressed by Friedrich Kapp and Carl Schurz: "The well-being of the Germans," says Kapp, "does not lie in separation from the American educational interests nor in fantastic dreams of founding a German state in America — a German Utopia. * * * A German nation within the American they cannot be, but they can throw the rich treasures of their life and thought into the struggle for political and human interests, and their influence will penetrate the more deeply and create for them a wider field of activity,

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[1] *Wisconsin Demokrat*, May 10, 1855, a German weekly newspaper, published in Manitowoc between 1853 and 1866, by Karl Röser. The article is quoted from the *Pioneer*, which was started in 1854 in Louisville, Kentucky, by Karl Heinzen. It was later removed to Cincinnati, thence to New York, and finally in 1859 to Boston.

[2] *Löher*, p. 280.

the less peculiar they make it."[1] In a recent speech by Carl Schurz in New York, on German-American Day, the following thought is expressed: "Let us never forget that we as Germans are not called upon here to form a separate nationality, but rather to contribute to the American nationality the strongest there is in us, and in place of our weakness to substitute the strength wherein our fellow-Americans excel us, and to blend it with our wisdom. We should never forget that in the political life of this republic, we as Germans have no peculiar interests, but that the universal well-being is ours also."

However, the agitation, while it lasted, served to keep alive German feeling in America, and to call particular attention to several of the western states. Wisconsin, especially since 1848, has been very widely favored. It is a significant comment upon its popularity and advantages, that Roscher should have chosen it unhesitatingly. Were it possible to trace the effects of the agitation, we should look to those who have directed emigration, and to the leaders of large bodies of settlers, and such have frequently chosen Wisconsin.[2]

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[1] Friedrich Kapp's *Die Deutschen im Staate New York, während des achtzehnten Yahrhunderts. Geschichtsblätter herausgegeben von Karl Schurz* (New York, 1884), p. 228.

[2] A society in Halberstadt, Germany, investigated the question of location, probably about 1848, and reported that for natural advantages and richness of the soil and a healthful climate, well suited to Germans, Wisconsin was the best state. — Theodore Wettstein's *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin* (Elberfeld, 1851), p. 188.

In 1855, the Cincinnati society "Kansas Ansiedelungsverein," founded with the object of directing Germans to Kansas, changed their plans and favored Wisconsin as the best state for Germans. It was said that a committee of the society was sent to purchase land, and others from Louisville joined them. — *Wisconsin Demokrat*, Sept. 25, 1855.

In 1856, a colony of Germans from Pittsburg took up about 27,000 acres of choice lands in Marathon county, at Little Bluff Falls.

Location of the Germans in the United States.

But while the ideals of German revolutionists have been unrealized, Germans have, without previous concert, continued to concentrate in some few states of the Union. It is a curious fact that German settlement in the United States follows a belt beginning with Pennsylvania and running due west through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri.[1] In general this may be accounted for by two facts: First, the Germans generally avoid the southern states, because they are not acquainted with the products of the south, while they understand the cultivation of wheat, rye, oats, and other northern products; again, land in the south, before the War of the Rebellion, was held by large land-owners who rarely sold, and free labor was degraded by competition with slave labor;[2] the climate of the south, moreover, was found to be less suitable to Germans. Another reason for their preference was, that the Germans were searching for work, and particularly for land, which latter was abundant in that tier of states during the period of their immigration.

Kapp, writing in 1870, says: "As nearly as a calculation can be made, it has been ascertained that out of one hundred continental immigrants, seventy-five go west, and twenty-five remain in the great cities; while of the Irish and English, twenty-five settle in the country, and seventy-five remain in the eastern cities."[3] Thus the new Northwestern states opening to settlement between 1820 and 1850 naturally received the great mass of Germans who poured out of Germany in those years, owing to political agitations and hard times. The immigrants who came because of the reaction following the uprisings of 1830, settled chiefly in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri;[4] while others

[1] Bluntschli-Brater, *Staats-Wörterbuch*, i., p. 588.

[2] Carl H Schmidt's *Prämie des Nord-westen* (Manitowoc, 1884), p. 23. The same for 1886, p. 52.

[3] Fr. Kapp's *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York*, pp. 118–158. See also *Löher*, p. 275.

[4] *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 291.

went to New York, Pennsylvania, and Canada.[1] But since then, and especially since 1845, they have settled in Wisconsin and Iowa.[2]

Physical Features.

Of all the Northwestern states, no one excelled Wisconsin, and perhaps no state equalled it in natural advantages especially suited to a quick development. Wisconsin is bounded on the north and east by two of the largest inland lakes in the world. The western boundary is the great Mississippi. Running diagonally across the state is the valley occupied by Green Bay and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Situated thus between the limits of the two most important waterways in the United States, Wisconsin possessed great advantages in the way of routes of travel and means of transportation, an especially important factor in the early days. The prospects for Wisconsin in that respect were sometimes greatly magnified. It was suggested by one German writer, that we should doubtless soon see Bremen steamers in Milwaukee harbor.[3] By means of the canal connecting the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, a limited navigation was possible from Lake Michigan through Green Bay to the Mississippi. Before railroads were built, it was declared that Wisconsin had better means of communica-

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[1] *Löher*, p. 275.

[2] The statistics of the Erie canal show that furniture destined for Wisconsin passed over that thoroughfare as follows: 42 tons in 1838, 742 tons in 1839, 816 tons in 1840, 1,190 tons in 1841, 1,985 tons in 1842, while for Michigan, Indiana and Pennsylvania it had fallen off more than one-half, and for Ohio and Illinois more than one-third. The main routes of travel to the west were by New York and New Orleans. The former, by which the travel was most extensive, it was estimated, had brought from 50,000 to 60,000 settlers to Wisconsin by 1843; while about 10,000 had come up the Mississippi into our state. It is natural then, that Wisconsin should have received a larger immigration than Iowa and the more western states at that period.— *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, x., p. 541.

[3] Alexander Ziegler's *Skizzen einer Reise durch Nordamerika und Westindien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements der Auswanderung und den landwirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse in dem neuen Staate Wisconsin* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1849), pt. i., p. 229.

tion, and hence a better market, than many of the eastern states.[1] "The soils of the state," says President Chamberlin, "are of a high degree of fertility and permanence."[2] The forest lands may be roughly included in the district north of a line running from Racine due northwest. The northern half was originally covered by an almost unbroken forest of hard wood and evergreen; and along the eastern border of the state, except at the extreme south, is a tract of heavy timber.

The effect of these physical features upon German immigration is shown by the distribution of the Germans in the state. Considering the census reports of 1880 by counties, we find the following results: In eighteen counties located, with two exceptions, in the eastern and north-central part of the state, forming about one-third of the whole number, and having 42.5 per cent. of the total population of the state, there were 66.9 per cent. of the total German (foreign-born) population.[3] Thus the Germans are seen to be massed in the eastern and north-central counties, a position which corresponds markedly with that of the heavily-wooded districts; they have shown their preference first for the wooded lands near the main routes of travel, namely the eastern counties, and from there have spread to the north-central parts of the state, into the deeper forests.

Another physical feature of Wisconsin which is of great importance is the climate, which is remarkably good. The winters are severe, but owing to the dry atmosphere are less penetrating than in more humid climates. The extremes of temperature are tempered by the proximity of the Great Lakes. The state is comparatively free from the fevers of the states to the south, and is considered one of the most healthful in the Union. This one fact placed our state above many whose advantages in other respects

[1] Gustav Richter's *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin* (Wesel, 1849), p. 6.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.), article "Wisconsin."

[3] See map. Were we able to obtain statistics of native-born Germans for each county, this percentage would doubtless be largely increased.

were fully equal to hers. Thus while Michigan resembles Wisconsin in many respects, the climate is far less favorable.

Finances and Constitution.

When Wisconsin was admitted into the Union, there was no territorial debt, and no large debt was incurred until the war;[1] while Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana had large debts on account of the projects for internal improvements.[2] The Milwaukee *Courier* of August 31, 1842, has the following quotation from the Mohawk (N. Y.) *Courier:* "Immigration turns now to Wisconsin, Missouri and Iowa, for Michigan, Illinois and Indiana have public debts."

Another important fact had its influence, and doubtless a very decided one, upon German immigration. The constitution framed for Wisconsin in 1848 was a very liberal one as regards the rights of foreigners, only one year's residence being required before the privilege of voting was allowed. Wisconsin was the only state possessing so liberal a franchise in 1848. In 1851 Indiana put a similar clause in her constitution; Minnesota in 1857, and other states followed within ten or fifteen years. Wisconsin's one-year policy was adopted in great measure through the influence of Dr. Franz Hübschmann and Moritz Schöffler, German delegates from Milwaukee to the constitutional conventions of 1846 and 1847–48, respectively.[3]

German Books and Pamphlets on Wisconsin.

All these advantages, with others, were urged in numerous German writings. Probably the first of these was written by C. E. Hasse, and was published in Grimma in

[1] *Governor's Messages. Wis.*, for 1853 and 1863; and *Treasurer's Report, Wis.*, for 1849.

[2] This was urged in pamphlets. See *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin*, p. 7.

[3] *Jour. Wis. Const. Conv.*, 1846, pp. 24, 29; and *Jour.* of 1847–48, pp. 31, 129, 190, *et seq.* For Dr. Hübschmann's speech on the franchise, see *Wisconsin Banner*, November 7, 1846, a German paper published in Milwaukee from 1844 to 1855. See also Rudolph A. Koss's *Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1871), pp. 231, 258.

1841. Hasse had travelled in Wisconsin, and was so favorably impressed with its good features that he wrote advising Germans to settle here. This is said to have had a marked influence on German immigration to Wisconsin, and particularly to Milwaukee.[1]

But it was between 1847 and 1850 that the most of the works were written. One Fleischman published about 1847 a book on the climate and resources of the United States, which was widely circulated in Germany, and is said to have had very much to do with the great influx of immigration to Wisconsin about that period. In describing Wisconsin, he dwells chiefly upon the similarity of the climate and soil of the state with those of the northern provinces of Germany, and likewise points to its high degree of healthfulness, comparing it with the fever states — Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri.

Dr. Carl de Haas came with other young men to Wisconsin in 1847, from Elberfeld (Rhine). He settled in Calumet, and from there wrote a work called *Winke für Auswanderer*, which was published in Elberfeld and Iserlohn in 1848. As university students, they had planned to come to America, and had Texas in mind; but a description of Wisconsin in the *Barmer Zeitung*,[2] particularly the region about Milwaukee, and a letter from Johann Mentis, of Calumet, induced them to come to Wisconsin. After about six months' residence he writes, "No one of us, and almost no one who came before us to Calumet, has regretted his settlement; on the contrary the majority are contented and happy." He preferred Calumet to Milwaukee, as more healthful.[3]

Another pamphlet, directed to people in the same Rhine region, was written by Gustav Richter, a citizen of Manitowoc and a land agent there. His work was published in Wesel in 1849, and was designed to bring his fellow-countrymen

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[1] *In der Neuen Heimath*, p. 368.

[2] Published at Barmen, Rhine.

[3] *Nord Amerika Wisconsin, Calumet: Winke für Auswanderer. Von Dr. Carl de Haas.*

from the Rhine countries to Wisconsin. He particularly recommends Manitowoc and Sheboygan, with Calumet, Fond du Lac, and Winnebago counties. As advantages, he urges Wisconsin's healthful climate and its adaptibility to German immigrants, and regards its market advantages as far more favorable then those of many of the eastern states. The prospect of a railroad from the Pacific to Lake Michigan is urged as likely to develop the state, and particularly the northern part.[1]

In 1847, Freimund Goldmann came to Wisconsin, and his letters home were published by his father, Dr. Goldmann, pastor in Gross Dahlum. He found that no government land remained about Milwaukee, and was advised to go to the western part of the state, as more healthful than the lake-shore region. He states these points as favorable to Wisconsin: (1) It is healthier than the southern states; (2) government land and cultivated farms were both to be had — the latter since many Americans had at that time caught the California fever and gone west; (3) Wisconsin was a young and flourishing state; (4) markets were good, by railroad and boat.[2] He was anxious to induce other Germans to come to the district, and offered to loan the use of forty acres free of charge, to each man who would come for five years.

Wilhelm Dames wrote a pamphlet which was published at Meurs, Prussia, in 1849, entitled *Wie Sieht es in Wisconsin Aus?* Dames settled near Ripon, having come over with friends from Wesel. Wisconsin had been recommended to him as the best land for the Germans, on account of its healthfulness and excellent drinking water. "It has," he writes, "without doubt the best water and the soundest climate, as soon as one leaves Lake Michigan, of any of the United States."

In 1848, Theodore Wettstein, a man of influence in his native town, came to Milwaukee with a large body of emi-

[1] *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin*, pp. 7 *et seq.*

[2] *Freimund Goldmann's Briefe aus Wisconsin in Nord-Amerika. Herausgegeben von Dr. G. Goldmann* (Leipzig, 1849).

grants from the Wupper valley — Barmen and vicinity. He wrote a work on Wisconsin, published in Germany in 1850, which is particularly commendable for its impartial character. "The stream of settlers," he writes, "turns now to Wisconsin; and rightly, one must think, when he sees the soil and splendid forests." He found that many immigrants were deciding to go to Indiana, but from what he had heard he thought it very unwise, since almost every day immigrants came to Wisconsin who had lived in the former state, and who knew not how to paint fully its evils. Of Wisconsin's good features, he mentions its position with regard to water communication by lakes, rivers, and projected canals, and the almost flat or slightly rolling surface, which makes the laying of railroads very easy; while good strong wood, suitable for that purpose, is abundant. Again, he writes, "Of all states in America, Wisconsin has a climate the best suited to Europeans, and particularly to Germans;" but he claims that no part of America is as healthful as Germany.[1]

About this time, Alexander Ziegler travelled in America, and wrote a prolonged description of his travels, particularly in Wisconsin. He gives a very pleasant picture of Milwaukee, its growth and German society, the gardens, the music, and the German influence in political life. In regard to Wisconsin, he mentions the size of the state, its sound climate, the excellent soil, mineral wealth, advantageous position, and the favorable connection of the interior of the state with the outer world. All these advantages he declares could allow the impartial observer only the most favorable judgment concerning this state.[2]

The mineral regions on Lake Superior and along the Mississippi river were described in a work by W. C. L. Koch, a member of the council of miners in the Duchy of Brunswick. It was published in Göttingen in 1851, and purports to be a guide for German emigrants. He describes the region after visiting it, and advises the German laborers

[1] *Wettstein*, pp. 150, 202, etc.

[2] *Ziegler*, pt. i., pp. 223 *et seq.*

who are thinking of emigrating, especially miners, smelters, forest laborers, coal-burners, and builders, to go to the lead regions, where labor is scarce and wages are excellent.

In this way, the advantages of various regions of Wisconsin were brought to the notice of Germans. It is impossible to estimate the influence of these works, but the advantages they emphasize were those which the Germans were in search of: namely, good lands, within their means, and the conditions most favorable to health and liberty. It is plain, then, that the features of Wisconsin most attractive to them were: the climate well suited to Germans, the good soil, finely-wooded lands at low prices, and the good markets both with the east and south; while the constitution offered them a chance for political influence.

Wisconsin in favor in 1848.

Many Germans who came about 1848 confirm the statement that Wisconsin was favorably known at that time. Ziegler declares that he came with great preference for Wisconsin, which was receiving especial notice in Europe.[1] "In New York," says Charles L. Encking,[2] "every hotel-keeper and railroad agent, every one who was approached for advice, directed men to Wisconsin." Mr. Wettstein also states that from all sides he heard the most undivided agreement, and men who were acquainted with the historical development of the United States and had sharply watched its growth, gave with one accord the new state of Wisconsin the most advantageous outlook.[3] In St. Louis, Rev. H. A. Winter,[4] of that city, heard repeatedly of Wisconsin's healthful climate, and decided to come here.

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[1] "Wie überhaupt nach den Vereinigten Staaten, so war von dem alternden Deutschland aus mein Blick mit besonderer Vorliebe nach dem Paradiese des gelobten Landes Amerika, dem in jugendlicher Frische und Schönheit erblühenden Wisconsin gerichtet."—*Ziegler*, pt. i., p. 199.

[2] A citizen of Fond du Lac, with whom I had a conversation regarding this matter.

[3] *Wettstein*, p. 133.

[4] Now a citizen of Madison. He has materially assisted me in reference to authorities.

Thus both in Germany and America, Wisconsin was "booming" at the period when the discontent in the fatherland and the consequent flood of immigration were approaching their climax, which occurred in the year 1854. Between 1844 and 1854, Germans to the number of 1,226,393 emigrated to the United States. In Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, meanwhile, the greater part of the government land had been sold. Much of the rest was in the hands of speculators; thus land there was high and not abundant. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, sales did not begin in the land offices at Green Bay and Mineral Point until 1835, and in Milwaukee not until 1839. Here, then, there was an abundance of excellent land at low prices.

As I have before stated (p. 302), the German immigration to Wisconsin reached its first climax in 1854, the same year that German immigration to the United States attained a high-water mark not equalled until 1883–84, when Wisconsin again obtained more than her due share of increase. The policy of the state in appointing a commissioner of immigration, and in disposing of its lands at low prices, probably contributed in some measure to this result.

Work of the Commissioner of Immigration.

A law passed in 1852 provided that a commissioner of immigration should be appointed, who should reside in New York city during the year, and whose duty it should be to give information to immigrants in regard to Wisconsin.[1] Gysbert Van Steenwyk, of La Crosse, was appointed to the office, the same year. In his report, he states that he made it his object to become acquainted with the officers most closely connected with immigration, to distribute pamphlets, and to advertise in the European newspapers, chiefly the German. He engaged the services of a German assistant, since the German emigration to the west, and especially to Wisconsin, was the largest. According to his statement, no other western state had a lawfully-appointed represent-

[1] *Laws of Wis.*, 1852, p. 665.

ative in New York, although the governor of Iowa had recommended the appointment of one. Van Steenwyk found it difficult to deal with forwarding agents and runners, who naturally favored Wisconsin, but disliked any interference with their overcharges.[1]

In 1853, Herman Härtel, a German land agent resident in Milwaukee, was appointed immigration commissioner. According to his report, he had been for many years accustomed to visit New York regularly in the line of his own business, and had lost no opportunity to inquire into the condition of emigration. He, also, used the New York and European press to present Wisconsin's advantages, giving a description of various localities, the commerce of the state, its minerals, timber, agricultural resources, and climate. Among the journals which he selected for advertisement, he mentions various German papers in America, as well as in Leipzig, Cassel, Nüremberg, Basel, Bremen, and other places in Germany. He states that within the eight months that his report covers, he had received and answered three hundred and seventeen letters from Europe, and that over 3,000 people had visited his office, of whom two-thirds were Germans. Often money was sent to him from people in Wisconsin, to assist friends and relatives on their arrival at New York. Dr. Hildebrandt, of Mineral Point, Wisconsin, was at that time United States consul at Bremen, and he gave Mr. Härtel valuable assistance in circulating information. Härtel's report states that nearly thirty thousand pamphlets were distributed, of which one-half found their way to Europe.[2]

In 1854, Fred W. Horn, of Ozaukee county, was Wisconsin's commissioner of immigration in New York city. He used similar means of advertising, and of assisting immigrants. At this time the commissioner established a branch office in Quebec, but the German immigration through Quebec was small. The existence of the Wisconsin commission was then widely known throughout Europe, from

[1] *Assemb. Jour., Wis. Leg.*, 1853, *Appendix.*

[2] *Gov. Mess. and Accomp. Docs., Wis.*, 1854.

the advertisements that had been generally inserted in the newspapers.[1]

In 1855[2] the office was discontinued, and was not revived until 1867.

Wisconsin's Land Policy.

The established policy of Wisconsin has been to offer the land granted her for school purposes, immediately and at low prices, for the sake of attracting immigration.[3] These grants were larger than those made to the older states. In 1838 congress granted to the Territory seventy-two sections for the use and support of a university; and the sixteenth section in each township for common schools. The 500,000 acres employed in other states for internal improvements were added to the endowment for schools. To this was added in 1854, for university use, seventy-two sections as an equivalent for the salt-spring lands, amounting to 92,160 acres. By 1886 swamp lands to the amount of 3,071,459 acres had been patented to the state, fifty per cent. of which were added to the school endowment. Altogether the state has received nearly four million acres of land for school and university purposes, and the greater part of these lands have been offered for sale at the minimum government price of $1.25 per acre.[4] Being selected in remote regions,[5] they were appraised at low prices; but

[1] The report for 1854 was not printed.

[2] *Laws of Wis.*, 1855, p. 8.

[3] In the preamble to a law making a state-university appropriation, we find the following: "Whereas, It has been the settled policy of the state of Wisconsin to offer for sale and dispose of its lands granted by congress to the state for educational purposes, at such a low price per acre as would induce immigration and location thereon by actual settlers."— *Laws of Wis.*, 1872, p. 114.

[4] As late as 1871, according to a state immigration pamphlet for that year, 56,000 acres belonging to the state were offered for sale in Adams county at 50 cents an acre; 20,000 in Marathon county at from 50 cents to $1.25 per acre; 100,000 in Wood county at the same rates; 94,000 in Shawano county at from $1.25 to $2.25 per acre.

[5] The 24,000 acres were selected in 1863 in Chippewa, Clark, Dunn, Marathon, Polk, Oconto, and Shawano counties.— Butterfield's *Hist. Univ. of Wis.*, p. 106.

since they were excellent lands and were sold on credit, the demand for them was very great.[1]

By 1886, of the school lands — amounting to 1,458,649 acres — only 164,539 remained unsold; the rest had been sold at an average price of $1.87 per acre. Of the 240,000 acres of the agricultural grant, all but 19,889 acres had been sold at an average of $1.27 per acre. Of the swamp lands,— aggregating 3,071,459.61 acres — all but 476,602 acres of the fifty per cent devoted to schools had been sold.[2]

Thus, while Wisconsin's peculiar land policy has been a loss to the educational interests of the state, it has, perhaps, materially helped its growth and settlement.[3] Mr. Härtel, in his immigration report of 1853, writes, "In my daily intercourse with the emigrant, I directed the attention of those intending to purchase land, to the school lands of our state, showing to those of limited means, that they could at once plant themselves in an entirely independent situation, as it could not be difficult for them, with patience and industry, and the long term allowed for payment, to meet their obligations. Upon inquiry, I have had the satisfaction to learn that during the past year, large quantities of these lands, largely exceeding the sales of the previous year, have been sold, and chiefly to actual settlers."

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[1] "The lands [school] have generally been situated in new and unimportant parts of the state, and surrounded by lands of the government have seldom been appraised higher than ten shillings per acre — the government price. They have been brought into market under low appraisements and readily sold, on account of the credit given; whilst the lands of the government in their vicinity remained undisposed of."— Report of the joint select committee to investigate the offices of the land commissioners, etc., in *Assemb. Jour., Wis. Leg.*, 1856, *Appendix*, ii., p. 31.

[2] Knight's "History and Management of Federal Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory," pp. 170, 171, in *Amer. Hist. Ass. Papers*, vol. i. See also Durrie's "Public Domain," in Snyder and Van Vechten's *Hist. Atlas of Wis.* (Chicago, 1878), p. 181.

[3] See, however, Knight's view, as above, p. 166.

Settlement of the Eastern Counties, with Sauk and Buffalo.

The counties near Milwaukee were the first to be settled by Germans, since Milwaukee was the most important and best-known port of Wisconsin on Lake Michigan, and there the attractions of a German society were strongest "Wisconsin," says Löher, "has now turned upon itself universal attention: and the immigrants, especially the Germans, are streaming in. * * * Among the Germans in Milwaukee, a very stirring life has already (1847) developed. Nowhere are there such joyous balls, and nowhere have the Germans decided so much in politics as here."[1] The social and musical life of Milwaukee among the Germans, which gave it the name of the "German Athens," made the city well known among Germans in Europe and America. A "Männer gesang Quartet" was first formed; later, an "Allgemeinen deutschen Gesangverein." Some Germans of considerable musical ability early came to Milwaukee: among them Hans Balakta, who became the director of the latter society. Under his leadership, Haydn's "Creation" was given in 1851, with a chorus of about a hundred and thirty instruments, and other fine oratorios and operas followed.[2] Thus Milwaukee gained a reputation, even in its pioneer stage, for musical ability, while amateur theatres, literary societies, political clubs, military companies, and a refined society, gave it the tone of a German city; and there to some extent the dreams of patriots were realized.

The majority of the German population of Milwaukee were at this time Catholics. This, as well as the later large German Catholic element in the state, is probably due in some measure to the fact that a German priest and bishop were early sent to Milwaukee, both of them men well known and of marked ability; and they have been followed by German bishops, not only in Milwaukee but also in Green

[1] *Löher*, p. 345.

[2] *Hist. Milwaukee* (West. Hist. Co., 1881), p. 582. See also *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 284; and Koss's *Milwaukee*, p. 323.

Bay and La Crosse. In 1844, Bishop Henni, a native of Switzerland, was sent to Milwaukee from Cincinnati, where he had been professor of philosophy and church history in the Atheneum. He had founded many German Catholic societies in Ohio, and had established the first German Catholic newspaper in America. He was a man of strong German spirit, and through his instrumentality a *priester seminar* was established, which afterwards became the nucleus of the large group of institutions at St. Francis. When he went to Milwaukee in 1844, there were but eight thousand Catholics in Wisconsin, according to the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon;* but in 1867 there were two hundred and fifty thousand,[1] the increase largely due to Henni's direction and unceasing activity.[2] Thus the Milwaukee diocese became one of the most important in the United States, and Bishop Henni was made archbishop, being the first German in the United States to attain to that exalted office.[3]

But the Protestant element in and about Milwaukee had meanwhile become a large and an important one in its effect upon later immigration. Between 1839 and 1844, two large bodies of so-called "Old Lutherans" had come to America from Pomerania and Brandenburg, as a result of the attempt to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches. They were directed to Wisconsin by their leader, Captain Henry von Rohr. He had come in advance of them, and after traveling through Ohio, Illinois, New York, and Wisconsin, chose the two latter. Wisconsin was selected, it is thought, on account of its climate, and its abundance of well-wooded lands at low prices. These Old Lutherans, perhaps some three thousand in all, settled in Ozaukee, Washington, and Dodge counties, and in the city of Milwaukee, in the neighborhood of Chestnut street. The reports of their prosperity, sent to friends and relatives at

[1] According to *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, x., p. 541, the population of Wisconsin in 1844 was estimated at 110,000 and the census of 1865 gives the population for that year as 955,793.

[2] Schem's *Deutsch-Amerik. Conversations-Lexicon*, v., p. 236.

[3] *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 290.

home, were widely circulated, since they came from various localities. Moreover, in 1853, Rev. J. A. A. Grabau, the pastor with whom they emigrated, and Captain von Rohr himself, travelled in north Germany, and by their conversations and reports created a further interest and thus directed the stream of Lutheran emigration to Wisconsin. These facts serve to explain to some extent the large north-German — and particularly Pomeranian — element which has been coming into the state increasingly, in later years.[1] According to Geffcken, emigration from the central and southern parts of Germany has been decreasing, while that of the northern districts is increasing. Thus in 1849 and 1850, the Rhinelands furnished from 18 to 20 per cent of the emigration, and Westphalia 38 per cent, while Prussia and Posen furnished only 20 per cent. In 1872, Prussia furnished 11.8 per cent, Pomerania 16.5 per cent, Hanover 12 per cent, while the Rhinelands furnished 8.3 per cent, and Westphalia 3.5 per cent.[2]

The German settlement of southeastern Wisconsin, which began about 1839, was remarkably rapid. In the year 1845, two hundred and fifty thousand acres of land were sold in the Milwaukee land offices, chiefly to actual settlers, of whom the larger part were Germans.[3] The Germans who came early to the state were largely from the Rhine provinces, where political discontent was strong at that period, and industry at a low ebb. Others came to Wisconsin from Bavaria, Saxony, Luxemburg, Würtemburg, and Switzerland. The eastern counties received the greatest numbers, but a large German element settled early in Sauk and Dane counties.

It was the fine Sauk prairie and beautiful scenery on the Wisconsin that attracted German settlers to Sauk county.

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[1] By the census of 1880 there were reported to be in Wisconsin 111,483 Prussians; 4,518 Hanoverians; 9,315 Mecklenburgers — 125,315, in a total German population of 184,328. Others, too, were reported as merely from Germany.

[2] Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken, in G. Schönberg's *Polit. Œcon. Auflage*, ii., p. 962. See also Roscher and Jannasch's *Kolonien*, p. 385.

[3] *Wisconsin Banner*, August, 1845.

The settlement there was begun by Count August Haraszthy, a fugitive from Hungary, who came to America about 1840. While crossing the ocean he read one of Captain Marryatt's novels, which describes a trip from Green Bay up the Fox river by way of Fort Winnebago, and down the Wisconsin river to Prairie du Chien. This, with a glowing description of the lead mines, rich country, and invigorating climate, given to him by some Englishmen on their way to Mineral Point, led him to choose Wisconsin.[1] He laid out the village of Sauk, called at first Haraszthy, and induced some Germans to join him. This was the germ of the later large German element which occupies the greater part of Sauk county.

By 1847 the greater part of the land within fifty or one hundred miles of Milwaukee had been settled, or was in the hands of speculators;[2] while some Germans from the Rhine provinces and Saxony had settled in the northeastern counties — Manitowoc, Sheboygan, Calumet, and Outagamie.[3]

At this period, Germans began to spread in part to the southwestern counties, about Mineral Point,[4] but chiefly northward to Sheboygan and Manitowoc counties, thence to Calumet and the region about Lake Winnebago, while many pressed into Outagamie and Green Lake counties, which are crossed by the upper and the lower Fox. In Green Lake county, the Fox river was then navigable as far as Princeton, and it formed the boundary line be-

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[1] William H. Canfield's *Outline Sketches of Sauk County* (Baraboo, 1861), sketch ii., p. 59.

[2] *Wie sieht es in Wisconsin Aus?* p. 18. *Wettstein*, pt. ii., p. 320.

[3] Dr. de Haas wrote in 1847 that all the government land within eight miles of Lake Winnebago had been taken. He found there a large Catholic settlement from the Rhine region.— *Winke für Auswanderer*, p. 71.

In Outagamie county, a body of Rhinelanders is said to have settled in 1842.— *In der Neuen Heimath*, p. 373.

In Manitowoc county, in 1858, the Rhinelanders and Westphalians formed the largest part of the German population.— *Richter*, p. 10.

[4] In 1848, Mr. Goldmann found six or eight German families near Mineral Point, and some Germans at work in the mines. According to Löher, some towns in Grant county were largely German in 1847.

tween the government and Indian lands. All these counties received the mass of their German population between 1848 and 1860, and the bulk of it was from north and middle Germany — Holstein, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Saxony, and Lippe Detmold.

The settlement of Buffalo county, which was meanwhile going on, deserves some special attention. It was begun perhaps as early as 1841, by some Germans from Galena, Illinois, who were employed by Captain D. S. Harris of that town, to cut wood for the passing steamboats on the Mississippi. The county was surveyed in 1848, and a large immigration began in 1855. The settlers came partly by river from Galena, partly by land from Sauk county, and some of them directly from Milwaukee, where they had purchased ox-teams and farm implements. There are many north-Germans in Buffalo county, but the majority are Swiss, attracted thither by its fine pasture lands and abundance of springs, somewhat like those of their native land. About four-fifths of the Germans settled there before any railroad reached the county, and are to be found chiefly in the towns along the Mississippi river. Swiss have also settled in large numbers in the adjoining county of La Crosse.

Since 1860 the Germans have more and more pressed into the northern-central regions of the state, following the bent already mentioned,— the strong preference for forest rather than prairie land.

Work of the Commissioners, and State Board of Immigration, since 1867.

In 1867 the state renewed its efforts to attract settlers, by establishing a board of immigration.[1] The governor, *ex-officio* a member of the board, was authorized to appoint a local committee, three citizens in each county, to assist the board, and particularly to make out lists of the names and

[1] *Laws of Wis.*, 1867, p. 122.

postoffice addresses of European friends and relatives of the inhabitants of their respective districts, that information in regard to Wisconsin might be sent to them. For some years Bernhard Domschke, a German editor in Milwaukee, was a member of that board. German pamphlets were again distributed. One issued in 1868 describes the German life and industries of Milwaukee with some detail. Speaking of the liberal government of the state, it says: "The laws of Wisconsin are more favorable for immigrants than those of any other American state."

In 1871[1] the board was abolished, and a state commissioner of immigration was provided for, the office to be elective, and the term of service two years. The commissioner was to reside in Milwaukee, and he was authorized to appoint a local agent for Chicago. The duty of the commissioner was to prepare and distribute pamphlets giving the resources of the state, and the amount of government, state, and railroad land available for settlement.

Ole C. Johnson (Shipness), of Beloit, a Norwegian, held this office from 1871 to 1874. He announced it as his policy to give a reliable statement of Wisconsin's resources and to direct his efforts chiefly to European countries, for the reason that the state is heavily-timbered, and not being so easily cultivated as the prairies it needs the "hard-working yeomanry of the old world," who are able and willing to fell huge trees.[2] Agents were appointed at Chicago and Quebec. J. A. Becher, of Milwaukee, was at that time in Germany, and under his supervision, co-operating with Commissioner Johnson, a large number of German pamphlets published by the latter were distributed by consuls and steamship agents. In 1874, M. J. Argard was appointed, but the powers of the commissioner were at that time restricted, and in 1875 the office was abolished.[3]

In 1879 the experiment of a board of immigration was

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[1] *Laws of Wis.*, 1871, p. 241.

[2] *Immigration Report, Wis.*, 1871.

[3] *Laws of Wis.*, 1874, p. 549.

renewed, and it was maintained from 1881 to 1887, when it was abolished. J. A. Becher, well qualified for the work by his previous efforts, was president of the board during its existence. Throughout this period Wisconsin was extensively represented in Europe, and especially in Germany.

At the request of Charles Colby, the president of the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company, Kent K. Kennan, the agent of the land department of that company, was appointed by the board as state agent in Europe. He found it to his advantage to be under state authority, and to present the interests of the whole state rather than those of the Wisconsin Central alone, "since any other course would cast suspicion upon the fairness and ingenuousness of his statements." During this period the interests of the state were presented in pamphlets,[1] pocket-maps, and especially in advertisements in the German papers; the latter method they found especially effective. Mr. Kennan wrote to the board[2] that its pamphlets, on account of their solid and reliable as well as semi-official character, had far more weight with intelligent people than the exaggerated statements of most of the other states. A letter from Dresden, Saxony,[3] contains the following statement: "The state of Wisconsin with us stands high, though other western and southern states are sending out large quantities of pamphlets. * * * Wisconsin is the pearl of all; she no doubt will be the favorite of the coming year."

The work of the board was also extended to assist, protect, and advise immigrants, — telling them of the best routes, helping to regain lost baggage, preventing deceptions, and even granting pecuniary aid to the needy. Its purpose was to obtain the most desirable class of emigrants, and with that in view the advertisements were inserted in carefully-selected papers, and those were advised not to

[1] 20,000 German pamphlets and 9,000 copies of a pocket-map containing a short description of Wisconsin were printed in 1882, and largely distributed in Germany.

[2] *Immigration Report, Wis.*, 1881, p. 13.

[3] *Id.*, 1882, p. 12.

come whose former habits of living would unfit them for the new life.

The country then open to settlement by the location of government, state, and railroad lands was north-central Wisconsin, and thither the immigrant was advised to go. From 1881 to 1884, as in 1846–54, multitudes of immigrants poured into Wisconsin, which again received a greater proportion than other states. In 1879, of the immigrants to Milwaukee 64.3 per cent went to other states, and 35.7 per cent remained in Wisconsin; in 1880, there went to other states 59.6 per cent, while 40.4 per cent remained; in 1881, only 46.3 per cent went to other states, while 53.7 per cent staid in Wisconsin.

North-Central Wisconsin.

The large German settlements situated in Shawano, Marathon, Lincoln, Wood, Taylor, Price, and Ashland counties have converted a dense, almost unknown forest into a productive and prosperous region. In Shawano and Marathon counties, including at first Lincoln county, the settlement has been a continuation of the process which settled the northeastern counties. The causes and character of the emigration have changed, but there also Germans have been attracted by forest lands at low prices. Settlement in north-central Wisconsin has in great part been made since 1860. In Shawano county, the southeastern part was first settled, since it was more accessible, the Wolf river being then navigable by boats to Shawano, which was one end of the line of transportation from the Great Lakes and Mississippi river by water.[1] Marathon, too, was settled first in the eastern-central part, doubtless because the Wisconsin river flows through that region. No railroad reached either county until many years after settlement began,—

[1] *Erwerbs Quellen, Vorzüge und Erzeugnisse welche die Counties Brown, Door, Oconto and Shawano, im Staate Wisconsin dem Einwanderer bieten. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der County Behörden* (Green Bay, 1870).

that is, about 1874;[1] but Shawano had what the northern counties generally did not have — several government roads; the United States military road from Green Bay to Lake Superior cut Shawano county from east to west, and another government road ran from Shawano to Oshkosh.[2]

In both Shawano and Marathon counties, the north-German — particularly the Pomeranian — element prevails. Settlement was gradual. Many were drawn thither by the fact that friends and relatives from the same village had preceded them, and also by the large German element already in the state.

The western part of Marathon county, and the counties of Wood, Taylor, Price, and Ashland, are cut by the Wisconsin Central railroad. In 1871 the road was completed to Stevens Point, and in 1877 to Ashland.[3] A grant of land was obtained from the government, including alternate sections within twenty miles of the road; while the remainder, retained by the government, was to be disposed of under the homestead law, or was withheld for a time for the benefit of the road. Much of this land has been sold and settled through the efforts of the railway agents.

From 1880 to 1891, as above stated (p. 329), the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company's agent, Mr. Kennan, was likewise the agent of the state, with an office at Basle, Switzerland.[4] Through his exertions and those of the board, a

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[1] By 1874 the Wisconsin Valley railroad was constructed to Wausau along the river. Giles's "Wisconsin Railroads," in Sydner and Van Vechten's *Hist. Atlas. of Wis.* (Chicago, 1878), p. 168.

[2] Other government roads are to be found in the eastern counties, which no doubt had some influence on the location of German settlements. A road ran from Green Bay to Manitowoc, thence to Milwaukee; another skirted Lake Winnebago, on the eastern shore; while another ran from Green Bay along the southern bank of the Fox, thence southwest through Winnebago and Green Lake counties to Portage; Fond du Lac, Watertown and Milwaukee were connected by yet another.— *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 229.

[3] Giles's "Wisconsin Railroads," p. 167.

[4] The work which Mr. Kennan accomplished in Germany required great tact, since the German governments were making most strenuous efforts to prevent schemes for promoting emigration.

large number of emigrants were secured, of whom the majority were from the forest lands of Bavaria, and settled, perhaps five thousand in all, along the Wisconsin Central railroad, from Stevens Point to Ashland. Many were induced to come by the fact that there was plenty of work, with excellent wages, to be had in the lumber camps of the northern regions. By this means a man could soon earn wages sufficient to enable him to buy land and build him a home. If he bought an uncleared farm, moreover, the wood that he felled could be sold for a good price: sometimes sufficient, it is said, to enable him to pay for the land. A letter to the board of immigration from a German at Weimar, at this time, shows what conditions the Germans were in search of in America. He asks:

"1. Is there homestead land to be had, with large timber suitable for building?

"2. Can employment be found?

"3. Is there any other way except by water, of bringing timber to market?

"4. What are the prices per acre?

"5. How large are the taxes?

"We should prefer a large tract of land near a navigable river, and well adapted to stock-raising."[1]

For the benefit of settlers, special provisions were made by the Wisconsin Central railroad. In Medford, a house was provided to accommodate from seventy-five to one hundred people free of charge, for two weeks, with the use of a large cooking-stove.[2]

There have been other influences instrumental in attracting German settlers to this region. A Milwaukee law firm, Johnson, Rietbrock & Halsey, owned a large tract of land in the western part of Marathon county. The town of Black Creek Falls was the result of their enterprise. About 1870 they laid out streets and built bridges, stores, work-shops, and mills, and induced a large number of

[1] *Bienn. Rep. State Board of Immigration, Wis.*, 1883–84.

[2] *Der Staat Wisconsin, Seine Hülfsquelle und Vorzüge für Auswanderer. Von K. K. Kennan* (Basle, Schweiz, n. d.).

Germans to settle there, chiefly farmers' sons from the southern counties about Milwaukee.[1]

A paper was published in Milwaukee, called *Der Ansiedler*, edited by Joseph Brucker, in the interests of the northern settlement, and it is said to have had a wide circulation, particularly in the state. In 1881 an interesting pamphlet was written by Mr. Ludloff, describing a trip through north-central Wisconsin, and the advantages which it possesses for German settlement. "Here," he writes, "Germans might learn to forget the fatherland, were that ever possible," for the forests, climate, trees, and animals of Wisconsin closely resemble those of Germany. "In no state of the Union do our people find themselves better off, or more at home, than in Wisconsin; here we find the old freedom of the people."[2] Later, Mr. Brucker and Mr. Ludloff were copartners in a land agency at Medford.

In 1883, Rev. W. Koch, from the mission school at Basle, wrote a pamphlet from Black Creek Falls, entitled, *Wo find ich eine Heimath in der Fremde?* He was interested with others in bringing the different immigrants together into a religious Evangelical community, and had selected favorable places in north-central Wisconsin for some one hundred and eighty families. "According to my estimate," he says, "the country along the Wisconsin Central railroad possesses all the advantages necessary to make it easy for immigrants, even those without means. For people of small means, there is scarcely another like it." The advantages were, that woodland was favorable, because crops could be obtained for two years merely by harrowing; employment was to be had in the mills in winter; and the forests furnished building material and fuel. His appeal is especially to friends in Basle and Aargau.

People from all Germanic countries, besides the Bavarians, have come into this region: Swiss, Austrians, Saxons, Pomeranians. Some outlying German settlements are also found in the northwestern counties.

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[1] K. Ludloff's *Amerikanische Reisebilder: Skizzen über den Staat Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1881), p. 56.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Thus, while our native American citizens were seeking the western prairies, where crops were easily produced during the first years, the timber regions of northern Wisconsin were sought by the energetic, hardy, and persevering Germans, who are willing to wait for success. The remarkable growth of this region, and the prosperity of the settlers, is good testimony as to the wisdom of their choice.

THE PLANTING OF THE SWISS COLONY AT NEW GLARUS, WIS.

BY JOHN LUCHSINGER.[1]

Since writing a sketch of the Swiss colony of New Glarus, at the request of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, thirteen years ago, many changes have taken place in the conditions of the colony. Steadily prosperous, it has thriven beyond the most sanguine hopes of its projectors. Railroad and telegraph facilities have placed the hitherto secluded settlement in direct communication with the rest of the world. Modern thought and habit have come with modern inventions, but the people remain substantially the same. True, the first colonists have nearly all gone to their well-earned rest, but their direct descendants occupy the places of those who have died. The natural dislike of those of

[1] Mr. Luchsinger's admirable paper, "The Swiss Colony of New Glarus," in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, viii., pp. 411–439, attracted much attention. It was the first monograph on the planting of an organized foreign colony in Wisconsin. At the present time, when, through the joint efforts of the University of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin Historical Society, a healthy popular interest is being awakened in the history of the several foreign groups in this state, there has been a renewed call for the Luchsinger paper, but the volume containing it has long since been out of print. New and important facts, too, have been discovered by Mr. Luchsinger, and at my request he has rewritten his article, greatly enriched by additional documentary material, and brought down to date. It is practically a new monograph, drawn from original sources, and is of great value to all students of our composite nationality.

Mr. Luchsinger was born in the canton of Glarus, Switzerland, June 29, 1839, removing to America with his parents when but six years of age. He settled in New Glarus, Wisconsin, in 1856, and has for many years been prominent among the Swiss-Americans of Green county. He represented his district in the assemblies of 1873, 1876–78, and 1887. He is a lawyer, resident at Monroe. All foot-notes to this paper are by the author, unless otherwise signed.—Ed.

other nationalities to settle in a community so distinctly Swiss, and the inborn love of the Swiss for his own countrymen, have tended to prevent the mixture and assimilation of nationalities which is continually going on in other parts of the United States. New Glarus is still a Swiss colony, as much so as it was twenty years ago. In view of the fact that there are still a few of the first colonists yet living, from whom much information could be gathered which soon would be lost beyond recovery, it has been suggested by the editor of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* that I rewrite the history of the colony at this time. In response to this desire, I have collected material not hitherto attainable or known, and hope to be able to do such justice to the subject as it deserves, and to merit in a greater degree the favor with which the sketch in vol. viii. was received.

The Colony.

In the northern part of Green county, Wisconsin, at the terminus of the Brodhead and New Glarus branch of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, is situated the township and village of New Glarus. This village and township were so named, after the town and canton of Glarus in eastern Switzerland, of which place nearly all of the inhabitants are natives or the descendants of natives.[1]

[1] The canton of Glarus is one of the wildest and most mountainous in Switzerland. Two narrow valleys, traversed by swift mountain torrents fed by snows and glaciers, divide the canton into two sections. At the head of the greater valley, Gross-Thal, is a high mountain pass leading into the ancient canton of Uri. At the head of the smaller valley, Klein-Thal, is a similar pass leading into the Grisons, and thence on to upper Italy. Both of these passes, before the time of steam and railways, were much-used highways between Italy and Germany: in times of peace, for traders and travellers; in times of war, by armies of different nations of Europe. Judging from the situation of the canton and the names of localities, these valleys were originally peopled from both the north and south sides of the Alps. Undoubtedly, in the exterminating wars of ancient times, fugitives from religious and political proscription found a stern but safe asylum in the narrow, deep valleys, and on the steep mountain sides of Glarus. The southern element seems to have been strongest. Dark

Pleasantly situated on the banks of Little Sugar river, on ground rising gently towards the west, and at the foot of a high ridge of hills on the east, the village lies in the midst of rather rough yet pleasing scenery. Pleasant valleys, dotted with good farm houses and spacious barns, greet the eye to the north. South and west, fertile hills and uplands, alternating fields and timber, are in plain view for miles.

The first sight from the top of the high hill to the east is a pleasant surprise: the whole village and surroundings lie spread out beneath your feet. The settlement presents a romantic and somewhat un-American appearance; there is a something about its appearance that cannot well be described. Perhaps it is the diversified style of the buildings, perhaps the queer but plain old stone church-tower,— so unlike anything seen elsewhere in this country,— that causes it to seem different from the average Wisconsin country village. There are many fine dwelling-houses, but the common practice in New Glarus of building close to the edge of the streets detracts somewhat from their beauty. The village has about a hundred and fifty dwellings, a flour mill, a brewery, a cheese factory, lumber and stock yards, stores, shops, hotel, and saloons. The population is about six hundred. A physician, a preacher of the Swiss Reformed church, and three school teachers, reside in the place. There are besides, artisans, merchants, and laborers of all trades and occupations needed by

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hair and complexions prevail among the people; and numerous family names ending with *i* or *y* — as Marti, Klasy, Tschudi, Trumpi, etc.— indicate an Italian origin. Yet the blue eyes, fair hair, and complexion of the north Germans are by no means rare; and family names having an undoubted German origin,— as Schindler, Elmer, Luchsinger, and Schmid,— are plenty. Judging from these indications, the Goth and the Latin contributed in this borderland to the formation of the present race, and the result has been a people in whom the steady, honest purpose, industrious and frugal habits of the German race are blended with the impulsive, passionate, and enduring qualities of the Latin,— the mixture being the present persistent, enterprising, frugal, and industrious people of the region, of strong vitality and physique, and capacity for adaptation to all climates and conditions. From this source has sprung the healthy colony of New Glarus, Wisconsin, the subject of this sketch.

a community of this size. The people of the village, and also of the surrounding country, among themselves speak the German-Swiss dialect almost exclusively, just as it is spoken in Switzerland. All school and town meetings, and all legal and other business, unless transacted in writing, are of necessity conducted in this language. Many of those who were born here require an interpreter when called upon to testify as witnesses in the courts. A stranger stopping here unawares could easily imagine that he had dropped upon a district in Switzerland. The sounds and sights in the village, and the bold character of the surrounding hills, would strengthen the impression.

The Swiss occupy in addition to the village, almost the whole township,—three or four families of Norwegians living on the northern border. Fully two-thirds of the adjoining town of Washington, and large portions of many other towns in Green and Dane counties, are also thus occupied. The number of Swiss and their immediate descendants in Green county alone, exceeds eight thousand, comprising about one-third of the entire population. Other centres of business and trade have risen among this people, but New Glarus is the point from which the Swiss element radiates, and where it is chiefly concentrated. These Swiss-Americans are noted for their industry, frugality, and economy,—qualities which have been bred in their bone and blood for ages. Centuries of hard struggle to obtain a bare subsistence from the sterile mountains of the fatherland have formed the principles which on this more generous soil, and with place to grow, have led to competence. Toilsome struggles with poverty and adverse nature, far from being disadvantageous, are important factors in the building of that strong form of character which can adapt itself to circumstances, and ultimately bring to its possessor the best of life. In America, the sterile hills of New England are a notable example of this. What similar extent of territory in the United States has produced an equal number of successful men and women? One cannot help observing, on entering the section occupied by these Swiss-Americans, the material results of their inherited qualities. The houses

are roomy, comfortable, and in many cases elegant; barns and other outbuildings are spacious and substantial. Nowhere in Green county is so much money expended in permanent improvements as here, notwithstanding the fact that the face of the country is rough and often rocky, and the soil on the whole rather below the average in quality and depth.

Unlike most of the settlers of southern Wisconsin, this people at an early period betook themselves to dairy farming and the raising of cattle, to which branches of husbandry they were by training and habit fully adapted: these being of necessity the only forms of agriculture profitable or even possible among the mountains of their old home. Then again, the land in this vicinity is on the whole better suited for such purposes than for tillage. The hill pastures, though scant, produce sweet and nutritious grasses, while the natural meadows in the bottoms yield an abundance of good hay. Springs and streams of pure, cool water abound, almost every farm being supplied with running water. All these are necessary to excellence of dairy products, and to the health of the stock.

The people as a rule are hard-working, believing that old-fashioned labor is the proper means to a livelihood and competence. They are economical to a fault,— in many cases to the verge of penuriousness. The rule is, to spend less than they earn, and to make no display beyond their means. In view of this, the mystery is easily explained why they get on in the world better than others in like or better surroundings, who are so often heard to express wonder how a people who have had so many obstacles to contend with should have done so well. Naturally few of them are involved in debt, and less complaint of hard times is heard there than in many other sections of the country. Industry and economy will produce the same good results in any country not too densely peopled.

Causes of Emigration.

The causes which led to the establishment of this colony of New Glarus were mainly overpopulation in an unfertile country, and the poverty resulting from scarcity of employment and food. Prior to the year 1844, there was an era of uncommon prosperity throughout Europe. A long peace following the destructive wars of Napoleon had repeopled the nations, had rebuilt the cities, and restored confidence in the business world. Trade and manufactures had greatly increased, the latter particularly in Switzerland, where the numberless swift mountain streams afford unlimited and cheap propelling power for machinery, and where the supply of labor is cheap and abundant. The large numbers of young Swiss who formerly were compelled to seek work in foreign lands found employment in these home industries. No longer was Switzerland the recruiting ground for the armies of Europe. The country needed the blood and brains and muscle, and enlistments were forbidden by Swiss law. This was a golden era; every one prospered, and the people were content to remain in the land of their birth. But about 1844 a general stagnation in business occurred, overproduction of manufactures glutted the markets, and the trade in and demand for Swiss goods declined; large numbers of workmen were thrown out of employment. In addition to this, a partial failure of the Swiss crops caused the necessaries of life to rise in price, distress became general and great among the working classes, and it became a serious question how to employ and feed the ever-increasing population.

In some parts of Switzerland, the land fit for cultivation is very limited in extent, and is owned by the different municipalities. It is divided into greater or smaller parcels according to the number of adult male citizens, and these parcels are annually allotted for the purpose of cultivation, free of charge. As the population increases the parcels become smaller, so that at this time in Glarus they ranged from one hundred and sixty to six hundred and forty square yards for the head of each family, according as the parish to which

he belonged was rich or poor. In many instances the parishes also own the forests, and the summer pastures on the Alps, which are leased from time to time to dairymen. The income from these sources is applied to defray in part the public expenses, including the support of schools and churches; in consequence, taxation is light. Every citizen in Glarus is entitled to the use of one of these portions of tillable land, which he may cultivate by himself or by proxy. When a citizen emigrates, the value of his allotment, together with the value of his interest in the rest of the common property, is estimated, and paid to him in money. Practically, this is selling out his vested rights in the property of the community, and amounts really to a premium on emigration. These small parcels are mainly planted with potatoes, beans, or other annual crops. The authorities are so careful of the food supply, that on these allotments no one is allowed to dig even his own potatoes until they are fully ripe. As the harvest approaches, watchmen are employed day and night to guard the crop, and a heavy fine is imposed upon the luckless individual who may be detected in gratifying his relish for new potatoes before the law has pronounced them ripe. The production of grain is quite impossible,— there is not enough land fit for such crops, and the use of horses, plows, and machinery is almost unknown. The people depend for bread-stuffs on Russia, Italy, and Hungary. Hence bread is seldom cheap. In ordinary and even prosperous times, the supply in most families is limited. The poor are seldom able to eat as much as they desire. In times of depression, the food of the working classes is mainly potatoes, with salt or green cheese (called *schabzieger*) for seasoning.[1]

Coffee is made mainly from chicory and is used without sugar, and often without milk. Close economy in everything, from the smallest to the greatest article of food, clothing, or other necessity, is rigidly required by the conditions of the surroundings, in order to be able to exist. A wasteful person is regarded as almost criminal.

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, viii., p. 414, for description of methods of cheese-making.— Ed.

Even such economy as this could not prevent the distress and impoverishment from becoming alarming, when in 1844 the great sources of income dried up — the factories having either ceased work or shortened time and wages. The authorities and leading citizens of Glarus cast about for ways and means by which the consequent distress could be relieved. Public meetings were held to discuss the subject of emigration as a remedy. The matter was discussed pro and con in every cottage and household. The timid and conservative freely quoted the old saying, "*Bleibe im land und Ernähre dich redlich*" (Remain in the land and support yourself honestly). But the courageous and progressive invented another saying to match it, "*Bleibet im land und fresset einander*" (Remain in the land and devour each other). The prospect was, that the latter saying was in a fair way to be exemplified. Human labor was daily becoming plentier and cheaper, and food scarcer and dearer.

Selection of a Site.

The agitation finally culminated in the idea that an organized emigration, under the care and control of the government, would be the best, surest, and most reliable method of affording the necessary relief. At a public meeting called at Schwanden, a committee was appointed to confer with and ask the aid and co-operation of the government of the canton. The council of the canton approved of the project so far as to appropriate fifteen hundred florins (about six hundred dollars), for the purpose of sending to America — as the children of Israel did to the land of Canaan — two men who were to view the country, and if they found it suitable, to locate a tract favorable for a colony. An Emigration Society was at the same time formed, composed of intelligent and prominent men, who took charge of this fund, which was increased by subscription from the parishes and individuals to two thousand dollars. This society appointed as pioneers to look up a location, Judge Nicholas Duerst, then forty-eight years old, and Fridolin Streiff, a blacksmith, twenty-nine years old, both

of them men of courage and endurance, and of more than average intelligence. Duerst agreed to assist in selecting and purchasing the lands for the colony, and to advise and remain with the colonists until they were fairly planted in their new home Streiff was to remain three years with the colony, and to direct and control its work, and also to extend his assistance and counsel to all requiring it. He was also to expend properly, for the benefit of the colony, whatever funds were placed in his hands for that purpose. Before the three years had expired, Streiff, with wise foresight, saw that the colony would succeed, and sent for his wife and children to join him. Previous to the appointment of Streiff, the society had appointed M. Marti, a teacher, as Judge Duerst's companion, for the reason that he had some knowledge of the English tongue, but his timidity and indecision were such that he withdrew on the very eve of departure, and Streiff was thereupon selected. To supply the defect of their ignorance of the English language, the pioneers were authorized to employ a competent interpreter on their arrival in America. All these preparations, because of their strangeness and novelty, consumed so much time that it was not until March 8, 1845, that the two leaders were able to start on their journey in search of a new home.

They carried with them the written instructions of the society, as follows: The two pioneers are to depart immediately, so as to be in time to embark on the packet ship which leaves Havre, France, on the sixteenth of March.[1] Drafts to the amount of six thousand, three hundred and sixty florins (about two thousand, six hundred dollars), being sixty florins for each of the one hundred and six prospective emigrants enrolled, for the purchase of the necessary land, will be placed in their hands. These funds they are, however, not to draw upon until the purchase of the lands has been completed. On their arrival in New

[1] There were no railroads in Switzerland at that time, and only for a short distance in France; hence eight days were allowed for the journey from Glarus through France to Havre.

York, they are to proceed without delay to William H. Blumer, a fellow Swiss, living in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and request him to support them with his counsel and experience in exploration, and to assist them in making the purchase of land. In respect to this purchase, they are to consider particularly the instruction: that the locality chosen shall be similar to that of Glarus in climate, soil, and general characteristics. That the soil shall be suitable for raising stock, vegetables, fruit, and grains. They are not bound strictly to purchase government land. If they deem it best to purchase a portion partly cultivated, they may do so; but they shall strictly keep in mind that each colonist shall have for his sixty florins, twenty acres of land, or nearly that area. They shall endeavor to purchase land in one body, and shall duly consider communication with other inhabited portions of the country, such as by roads, streams, railroads, etc. After completing the purchase, the tract is to be so divided that each colonist shall receive a proper proportion of timber, pasture, and tillable land. The respective portions shall be assigned to the colonists on their arrival, and the pioneers shall cause the proper surveys to be made, and shall immediately prepare for the reception of the first lot of colonists, who are to wait at St. Louis for further directions. They shall provide shelter, food, and clothing for the immediate needs of the colonists, and shall charge the same to their account. There shall be provision made immediately for the cultivation of grain for the use of the people, and the necessary number of cattle shall be provided. It might be of advantage, these careful instructions say, to at first cultivate a small portion of land in common, and then to assign each colonist a portion of the produce. This plan might be the most speedy to provide necessary food for all. The purchase of land shall be in the name of the Emigration Society of the Canton of Glarus. Duerst shall prepare a vital record, numbered according to number of colonists, and note all deaths or increase, giving dates. The pioneers shall endeavor to use their influence with the colonists, to the end that a church and schools may be established as

soon as practicable; that the poor, sick, widows, and orphans may be relieved; and that the rules of the Emigration Society be observed and executed. The society shall be the owner of the lands until the sum advanced shall be repaid by the colonists. Duerst shall receive for his services one dollar per day, and his necessary traveling expenses. Streiff shall receive free passage to the settlement, and free entertainment until the departure of Duerst. For his other services, he shall be paid such a compensation as Duerst shall recommend to be proper. Duerst shall keep a correct daily journal of the traveling and other expenses.

Instructed, fortified, and also hindered in a measure, by these rules, the two pioneers embarked at Havre on the sixteenth of March, 1845, and after a tedious and stormy passage in a sailing packet arrived at New York on the sixth of May. On the tenth of May, they were joined at Easton, Pennsylvania, by Joshua Frey, whom Blumer had selected as their guide on account of his intelligence, and knowledge of the usages and language of the country. Frey kept a journal, in which he made daily entries of the doings of the trio, and from which it appears that without farther delay they proceeded in the mail coach to Somerville, New York, and from thence by railroad to New York city, and on the same day went by the steamer "Empire" to Albany, thence again by rail to Buffalo, at which place they arrived May 14.

The diary states as follows: "Took passage on steamer Bunker Hill for Detroit same evening, arrived at Detroit May 16. Next day proceeded across the state of Michigan by stage and rail to St. Joseph. Thence by steamer to Chicago, arriving there on the morn of the nineteenth. We went to the United States land office in that town and examined the maps and plats, and found that nearly all timber land in that land district was either pre-empted or sold, but a great amount of prairie land was yet open for entry. Next day took stage for Dixon, on Rock river. On the way we crossed immense prairies, reaching an unbroken level so far as the eye could see. The mail road passes through Aurora, the neighborhood of which is quite well settled.

Arrived at Dixon, May 21, having rode all night. We went to the United States land office and found an immense quantity of prairie land yet subject to entry, but the woodland was mostly all taken. The same afternoon we traveled northward along Rock river to Oregon City. May 23, we again returned to Dixon. The land on both sides of Rock river is very fine and productive. May 24, we went by stage to Princeton, a little village surrounded by rich lands. 25th, being Sunday, we rested. 26th, examined a tract of timber known as Devil's Grove, but found that it was already entered; could have bought 240 acres for $1,000. 27th, went to Peru on the Illinois river. 28th, as the water was too low in the river for boats to land, we hired a team to take us to Hennepin. 30th, went on steamer to St. Louis, where we arrived June 1. As the expected emigrants had not yet come, we authorized Mr. Wild of that city to take charge of them when they arrived, to send us word of their arrival, and to provide temporary quarters for them."

The journal then relates in detail the travels of the three men by stage, horseback, and on foot through Missouri, touching St. Charles, Warrenton, Danville, Mexico, Florida, Palmyra, and Marion. From Marion they took the steamer "Di Vernon" to Keokuk, in Iowa Territory, thence across the country to Winchester, Fairfield, and Mt. Pleasant, spending some time at the United States land office at Fairfield; thence eastward to Bloomington, on the Mississippi; thence to Galena, "which is a town of considerable importance, the head of navigation, and the centre of the lead-mining region. Although we had traveled now through a number of states, we had not yet decided to buy anywhere, for the reason either that wood or water was wanting, the location unhealthy, or not a sufficient tract of suitable land in one body; so we traveled farther into Wisconsin Territory, touching Platteville and Belmont, and arriving at Mineral Point June 16. At the land office, we really found a prospect to make suitable selections. Having at this place received a letter from Mr. Blumer, stating that the emigrants might be expected

at Milwaukee, we at once proceeded to that place, but were disappointed. At the Milwaukee land office we found, after examination, that the land in that district was not favorable for our emigrants. On the 24th of June, we therefore left Milwaukee via Troy, to Exeter, in Green county. Here, at last, we found in town 4, range 7, a large extent of land suitable for our purpose, containing the prescribed qualities, as: healthy climate, copious springs, fertile soil, timber, and prospect of convenient market for produce. After several more fruitless trips in different directions southward to Como, Illinois, and northwest to the Wisconsin river, we returned to Mineral Point, where we met Theodore Rodolf, who received us kindly and gave us his advice and help, and accompanied us on several trips in this district. On our return to Mineral Point, on July 17, we finally concluded to purchase near Exeter, Green county, twelve hundred acres of the land we had seen on June 27, and in addition eighty acres of good timber. We further bought necessary provisions and tools, with which we at once proceeded to the colony land, and Duerst and Streiff began to build huts. On the twenty-fourth of July the surveyor arrived, and with the kind help of Frederick Rodolf,[1] a brother of Theodore, we finished the survey and also the building of two temporary huts on the 30th." At this point, Frey's journal closes with the remark that on the sixth of August he bade farewell to Messrs. Duerst and Streiff, and departed for his home in Pennsylvania.

Judge Duerst wrote on August 19, 1845, to the Emigration Society, Switzerland: "We have selected and bought what we believe to be a favorable point for settlement. The land lies eight miles from Exeter, and thirty-five miles from Mineral Point, where great markets are held. It contains mostly fertile soil, good water in springs and streams, and sufficient forests. One of the streams running through our land has sufficient power for one or two mills, and we indulge in the pleasing hope that our fellow-

[1] Still living at South Wayne, Wisconsin.

citizens who may emigrate, will, if they are industrious and steady, find themselves in time well rewarded for their labor. The colonists, one hundred and eight souls, have arrived after a long journey, in which they experienced many hardships and disappointments, and are so destitute of everything that we were at once obliged to draw upon our credit in New York, so as to be able to supply their needs until the next harvest. We have provided temporary shelters for them, and have allotted the parcels of land to each colonist. Have also drawn rules and by-laws for the government of the colony, and for best managing its possessions, and have elected four trustees, — Fridolin Streiff, Balthasar Schindler, Fridolin Babler, and David Schindler, the last-named to act as secretary."

Some of the regulations laid down for the management of the colony are worthy to be recorded as curiosities: "Section I.— Every one is obliged to take the land which he draws by lot, and whether it be better or worse to accept the same without protest. Section II.— The main street from east to west shall be thirty feet wide, but the other streets shall be only fourteen feet wide.[1] Further, all creeks, streams, and springs shall be the common property of all lot owners. The colonists shall be obliged to assist each other in building houses and barns. As soon as the patents for the lands shall have been signed by the president of the United States, and not before, each owner shall have the right to dig and prospect for mineral. Should such be found, then the lot on which it is found shall revert to the society, and the owner shall receive therefor an appropriate compensation."

Of course these and other regulations from the same source were operative only for a short time, and until the people had become acquainted with the laws and customs of this country which govern such matters. Taking everything into consideration, in the light of better judgment and later experience, a better location might have been

[1] This was bringing the narrow, contracted ideas of land in Switzerland, to the broad lands of America, with a vengeance.

selected,—richer, deeper, and more level soil, shorter distance to markets, and other advantages, could have been had at that time with as little cost as the site chosen; but viewing the result, it is doubtful if under more favorable conditions a better or even as good showing would have been made. The mountaineer from old Glarus seems to have more readily taken root and thriven on the rocky hillsides and pleasant valleys of New Glarus, than he would have done in what we now consider more favorable localities. The energy developed in subduing the rocky soil, and felling the gnarled timber, seemed to give its possessors an impetus that carried them to competence and prosperity with a force that hardly would have been developed under easier beginnings. Had the pioneers not literally followed the society's orders to purchase twelve hundred acres in one body, it would have been better, as much rough and worthless land was included, which could have been avoided and valuable land taken instead. But they thought themselves bound to follow their instructions strictly and conscientiously, and they deserve a full measure of approval for their work.

The Migration.

And now to relate the story of the migration of the colonists to the place so selected for them. The society's committee was at first inclined to postpone the emigration until the spring of 1846, so as to give sufficient time for the pioneers to view the land, and, if a location was made, to make ample preparations for the reception of the people on their arrival. But the spirit of emigration had thoroughly permeated the whole community, and was at fever heat. The pressure was threatening to overthrow all the nicely-considered plans for an organized emigration. To avoid the consequences of a threatened irregular exodus, and in order to retain control of the movement, the committee was compelled to act promptly. The sixteenth of April, 1845, was therefore fixed upon for the departure. On account of the number of emigrants and the amount of their baggage, the

water route down the Rhine to Rotterdam was determined upon, and preparations made accordingly. The emigrants were notified to assemble, and hold themselves in readiness to embark at the time stated; and the respective amounts necessary to defray the passage and expenses were to be paid into a common fund, either by the colonists themselves, or, when unable, by the parishes to which they belonged. The whole scheme resembled a stock company, and each emigrant represented a share and was assessed in proportion for all expenses.[1]

In the night of April 15–16, the arrangements were finally completed, and on the morning of the sixteenth the committee proceeded to the place of departure, — the so-called "Biäsche," a landing place on the Linth canal, which runs alongside the Linth river, a tributary of the Rhine in Glarus. On the banks of this canal, on this gloomy April morning, one hundred and ninety-three persons of all ages and conditions were collected in the pelting rain. Only one hundred and forty had been expected and provided for, but the desire to emigrate under the protection of an organization had become so great that almost at the last moment fifty-three more had, unannounced, joined the party and determined to share its fortunes. Such were the colonists who were in readiness to venture into that strange, far-off land, called America, of which they had read and spoken, heard and dreamed so much. It was said to be the home and refuge of the poor, where those who came with stout hands and willing hearts were sure eventually to reap a rich reward, and where, better than all, their children would have bread enough to eat. Yet among all those who were so ready and anxious to leave, few could look back upon the frowning yet beloved mountains, on whose rugged sides they had left their poor homes, and humble but kind friends and kindred, without feeling that their courage was tried to the utmost. But the thought gave them firmness, that in the beautiful

[1] The reader cannot fail to note strong points of unconscious resemblance between this organization and that of the Pilgrim Fathers, two and a quarter centuries before.— Ed.

land they were leaving, increasing and hopeless poverty was ever present, and want and oppression were the lot of the poor, with no ray of hope for the better.

With tearful eyes and hearts full of grief, they took their last leave of friends and fatherland; and with few earthly goods, but rich in firm resolves and hopes, they embarked in an open barge. Before starting, Landamman C. Jenny,[1] representing the government of the canton of Glarus, addressed the colonists in words full of feeling. He urged upon them the necessity of industry, harmony, and unity; and commending them to the care of kind Providence, bade them God-speed and farewell. And so, amid the tears and kind wishes of an immense concourse of friends and relatives, the boat-load of emigrants started on their way and slowly began a wearisome journey towards an unknown land. At the start, the colonists chose two of their number, George Legler and Jacob Grob, to act as leaders and spokesmen during the migration, to exercise general care and supervision over everything connected with the journey, to preserve order, and to hear and redress all complaints. The colonists on their part promised to obey the directions and abide by the decisions of these leaders.

Before reaching Zurich, the weather had become inclement and snow fell, the closely-packed open vessel soon becoming uncomfortable and unfit for the passage of so many. So inadequate was the space, in consequence of the unexpected addition to the number of the company, that there was no room to lie down; and when night came, those who could slept as well as possible in a sitting posture. At Zurich, it became evident that this crowded condition must be relieved, or great distress would prevail, especially among the women and children. The Swiss bundesrath was at that time in session at Zurich, and the Glarus representative, Cosmos Blumer, kindly provided teams and covered wagons, in which the women and children found more comfortable passage, and in which they followed the vessel on shore until they all reached Basle, about fifty miles from

[1] Died at Glarus, May 25, 1893.

Glarus. Mathias Duerst, one of the number, a man of more than ordinary intelligence and a close observer, kept a diary of the events on the journey, from which the author will freely quote.[1]

Says Duerst: "We arrived at Basle on the 18th. The cold rain was falling in streams, and the utter wretchedness and discomfort were enough to chill the ardor of the strongest among us wet, shivering men. The wagons containing our wives and children arrived about the same time; and although they had been packed in like a lot of goods, we were glad that they had not been exposed to the cold and wet as we had been."

On the nineteenth, the emigrants again embarked, this time on a steamboat on the Rhine. The boat ran only in the daytime, and stopped every night, usually at some town or village, where the men would get out and purchase provisions for the next day,—for only the passage had been contracted for; every one had to provide food as best he could, whenever opportunity offered. There were no berths or beds on the boat, and sleep was had either on the bare planks of the vessel's deck or in such lodging-houses at the stopping places as could harbor the crowd at cheap rates. In this comfortless, wearisome manner, they proceeded down the Rhine northward. Loud and deep were the murmurs of discontent and exasperation at the want of consideration and business tact of those who had contracted the expedition of the emigrants in this slow, miserable manner; and it sometimes required the utmost tact and persuasion on the part of the leaders, to preserve the peace and prevent open mutiny and disorder. What at first appeared the cheapest route proved, in consequence of the delays and increased cost of subsistence, to be by far the dearest.

At last, on the thirtieth of April, they arrived at Rotterdam, where they were loaded on two coasting vessels, wherein they were to be carried to New Dieppe, the seaport. In the night a severe storm arose, which lasted until

[1] It has been kindly loaned to the author by Miss Salome Duerst, a sister of Mathias, and herself one of the few surviving pioneer colonists.

the morning. It was a terrible experience, for none of the colonists were accustomed to the sea. May 2, they arrived at New Dieppe, and at once went on board of the ocean vessel, which was a fine three-master with eighty-eight berths. On the third they bought straw for their berths, and could now for the first time sleep with some comfort; but as no cooking arrangements had yet been placed in the ship, they were obliged to kindle fires on the land, and cook outdoors, in gypsy fashion. Owing to the ship's incomplete accommodations for carrying passengers, the company was delayed until the thirteenth, on which day the ship weighed anchor, and the departing Swiss bade farewell to Europe — nearly all of them forever. A tug pulled the vessel out about six miles, when her sails were set, and day by day she plowed her way westward, sometimes tossed by storms and again almost becalmed.

At that period, on sailing vessels, each passenger or family cooked his or their own food, and among a large number of passengers the difficulty of getting a chance to cook in the one small kitchen was often extreme. The strong and healthy came first, the weakly were crowded out; during storms no fires were permitted, and the passengers were sometimes from four to five days without warm food or drink. The sick and the children suffered terribly at such times. The miserable ship biscuit was as fit for food as so much leather. Those who had dried meats and fruits, or cheese, fared quite well, but others suffered from hunger. Two and a half pounds of salt pork, a half pound of flour, two pounds of rice, and as much ship biscuit as could be used, were the weekly ration for each full passenger. On the twenty-eighth, the company were saddened by two deaths, the wife of Rudolf Stauffacher, and a six-months-old child of Henry Stauffacher; they died within a few hours of each other, and in less than two hours after their death were wound in sheets, weighted with sand, and after a short burial service read by Jacob Grob, were sunk into the trackless ocean. The wretched quality of the food dealt out to the emigrants had by this time occasioned

diarrhœa and dysentery among many. All were so weakened that despondency and discontent prevailed, and many the complaints and quarrels which the leaders were called upon to hear and quell. But in time more contentment prevailed, for complaints did not mend matters.

On the twenty eighth and twenty-ninth of June, land was in sight. The warm American air seemed to be full of reviving qualities, the sick grew better, the despondent gained courage; and when on the thirtieth day of June, after a voyage of forty-nine days full of storms and hardships, the vessel landed at Baltimore, all were on their feet cleansed and dressed in their best, ready and impatient to greet their adopted land and to found new homes in the then far west. The orders were, that the emigrants should proceed to St. Louis, where directions would be found to guide them to the selected locality. After some discussion, it was voted, in view of the miserable treatment on shipboard, that the firm to whom they were directed by the shippers at Rotterdam to apply for further transportation, were unworthy of confidence, and a committee of three were selected to contract for the passage to St. Louis. This, in view of the fact that an immense amount of extra baggage was to be transported, was a difficult matter. The emigrants and their friends, in their ignorance of the extent and resources of this country, had taken along not only their clothing and bedding, but also their kitchen and table furniture, pots, pans, and kettles, and the mechanics had complete kits of tools. The belief was, that even should it be found that America could supply such articles, they would be much inferior to those brought from the old country. Thus there were many thousands of pounds of excess baggage to provide for. A contract was finally made with a Jew, to carry the company to St. Louis for twenty dollars each adult; children from four to twelve years were rated at half-fare; those younger than four years were to be carried free; while the excess baggage was to be charged for at the rate of a dollar per hundred weight. These negotiations took several days.

On the fourth of July, Mathias Duerst states in his diary: "We saw the most imposing ceremony that any of us ever saw in our lives. It was the funeral obsequies of the former president of the nation, Gen. Jackson. The space in my whole diary would be too small to describe the splendors and the solemnities we witnessed. Thousands on thousands of horsemen were in the procession, and the honors done to the memory of the great man who, like Cincinnatus, was several times called from the plow to the head of the nation, were impressive and grand. At this point, two of our families not having been provided with any means for further travel, made known their condition to the leaders, and it was determined to advance them fifteen dollars each out of the small relief fund of the colony, so as to provide them with food until the men could get employment, which they accepted with many thanks, and they remained at Baltimore."

Later, Duerst writes: "On the fifth of July, one mile out of the city, we got on the cars for the first time. Then we experienced the greatest pleasure in our lives. None of us had ever before rode on a railroad. We passed with the speed of the wind through splendid fields and wooded valleys. The eye feasted on rapid changes, on rich grain fields, and fruitful orchards: and then we went by tasty, elegant dwellings. All this proclaimed American wealth and prosperity to us, and the troubles and hardships of the weeks just passed were forgotten in the hope that some day we might call a like-appearing country our home. The train took us to the Susquehanna river at Columbia, where we left the cars and loaded our baggage and persons on the canal boats which were to carry us to Pittsburgh. These were totally inadequate for our numbers. We were packed in like a herd of sheep. Thirty to thirty-five human beings were put in a space twelve by seven feet; many could not even sit, but had to stand up the whole night. In the morning, more boats were provided. They were drawn by one horse each, and we had plenty of time to step out and buy milk or other provisions, the speed was so slow, and the stoppages many. At Hollidaysburg, the canal termi-

nated; our boats with all their contents were loaded on an iron track and drawn up the steep mountain side by a wire rope attached to a steam-engine on the top, and were conveyed down on the other side, sometimes with horses and engines, and sometimes of our own motion. At Johnstown, our boats again were let into the canal, and proceeded as before. It is astonishing what works these Americans have performed."

Duerst further says: "We passed through a delightful region, smiling with productiveness and plenty, log-houses alternating with fine mansions, and women in good clothes and bonnets on were milking cows; but this is about all the work they do, so far as I saw, for we perceived even in the log-houses that they sat in rocking chairs, clothed with bonnets and shawls, with arms crossed, sitting like noble ladies."

At Pittsburgh, on the evening of the tenth, they embarked on a steamboat, and steamed down the Ohio river. "Excepting that the wife of one of our emigrants gave birth to a fine boy, on the first night, and that our steamer ran aground while racing with another, there was nothing worthy of mention." The captain of the vessel, through an interpreter, informed himself of the purpose of the emigrants, and bluntly told them they were fools to make such a journey for the sake of getting twenty acres of land with the privilege of paying for it,—that twenty acres in this country was nothing; it was not worth while building a house on. In a few years, by working at their trades or occupations, they could save enough money to buy ten times that amount of land. When the emigrants would not be dissuaded from their set purpose, he indignantly turned his back, and said he would not waste more words on such fools. At Cincinnati, three of the company tired of the seemingly endless journey, and were persuaded by friends living at that place to remain; several had already dropped off at Pittsburgh, in the same way. The wonder is, under the circumstances, that more did not detach themselves, especially those who were mechanics, for wages in the cities were about two dollars a day for skilled

labor, and food and clothing were then very cheap. Nothing seemed, however, to be able to turn the main body from their purpose. The summer heat by day, the torment of myriads of mosquitoes by night, the crowded quarters, and the inferior food, were not calculated to elevate their spirits; but notwithstanding all this, their courage did not give out. On the nineteenth there was another birth of a boy, the third since leaving home.

On the twenty-third, the company of Swiss emigrants arrived at St. Louis. Here they expected to meet their pioneers, Streiff and Duerst, or at least to find the promised instructions from them; but neither the pioneers nor letters from them, were at St. Louis. There was nothing but a letter from Mr. Blumer, of Allentown, in which he informed them that the pioneers were on the search for land, somewhere in Illinois; but the letter was a month old, and gave no definite information. On the other hand, rumors circulated that the two pioneers had while exploring lost their lives. In the midst of conflicting stories of all kinds, the party and their leaders were in extreme anxiety. Undecided which way to turn, they rented two houses, in which they crowded for temporary shelter, meeting daily for mutual counsel. Some of the party earned a few dollars at odd jobs of work. The suspense finally became unbearable, and on the twenty-fifth it was determined that two of their number, Paulus Grob and Mathias Duerst, should proceed to search for the pioneers. They found a steamer ready to start for Peoria and other points on the Illinois river, and took deck passage, but were obliged on account of the intolerable plague of mosquitoes to change to cabin accommodations before going far. They arrived at Peoria on the night of the thirty-first, but found no tidings. Following a chance hint in Blumer's letter, they proceeded to Peru, Illinois, seventy-five miles across the country. The fare on the steamer was four dollars, which was more money than they had, and they went most of the way on foot.

They relate that immense tracts of prairie were still wild, unenclosed, and open for entry and sale, and they

were charmed by the beauty and productiveness of the country. They were hospitably entertained by the settlers on the way, and Duerst relates in his diary: "Every one seems to live in plenty. The tables in the lowliest cabins are as well if not better supplied than those of the best hotels in Switzerland, and the surprise is that they can live in this way, and yet it is said the people only work about one-fourth of the year; the rest of the year they go hunting, or follow such other amusement as they please. The cattle are no trouble; when night comes, they come of themselves to the dwellings, and so many of the cows are milked as is necessary for the wants of the family, and no more. Sheep cost no more than their wool would bring. This seems like a country of marvelous plenty, and the people are extremely friendly."

They arrived at Peru on the third of August, and on inquiry at the post-office found that the pioneers had been there, had gone to Mineral Point, Wisconsin, and had requested the post-master to forward all mail for them to that locality. This was depressing news. The little money the men had was gone, and it would cost twelve dollars to carry them to Galena. Out of this dilemma they were lifted by a fellow Swiss, John Freuler, who was working at Peru; he generously loaned them the necessary sum until such time as they could repay him. They wrote to St. Louis what the situation was, and hired a team and driver. Duerst thus describes the outfit: "The wagon was a miserable affair without springs, and covered with a torn, dirty rag, but the horses were splendid, fit for princes; it is just the reverse of what it is in the old home. There the carriages are fine and grand, but the horses are miserable things. We fairly flew across the wide prairies, which seemed as wide as the ocean — nothing but sky and grass, no shrub, tree, or human being to be seen."

On the sixth, they reached Galena, and proceeded northward through the lead-mine region into Wisconsin, traveling mostly on foot, and arriving at Mineral Point next day at 9 o'clock in the evening. In answer to anxious inquiries, they learned that the pioneers were yet thirty-five miles

farther on, that they had bought land, and were awaiting the colonists, of whom they had no information, and knew not in what direction to look for them. They determined to go forward, and a helpful German found a team and driver for them, promising to see that it was paid for until they could repay him. They rode twenty-five miles, when darkness overtook them and they were obliged, despite their impatience, to stop over night with a settler. They found, too, they had missed the direct road. Next day they proceeded, and about 2 o'clock in the afternoon stopped at another house, here finding that those they sought were still four miles off. The teamster, desiring to return to Mineral Point, refused to go farther, and the men were obliged to travel on foot in the direction indicated. In due time they saw through an opening in the timber, first some huts, and then men at work. The latter approached, and in these they found the long-sought pioneers and friends. As all clasped hands, with tears of joy springing to their eyes, their feelings may better be imagined than described. The joy of that first meeting was something to be remembered by all, so long as life lasted.

The new comers were first refreshed with food and drink, and then shown over the new possession. To their eyes it seemed a splendid sight. Hills and valleys, woods, prairies, and streams, seemed in just the right proportion, all being glorified in the brilliant light of that August day. A halo was cast over all imperfections: in the eyes of the weary wanderers, all things in this land of promise were perfect. It was at once decided that some one should go to St. Louis and guide the other colonists hither. The new comers were anxious to remain and assist in the work of building shelters. Judge Duerst was therefore requested to go for the colonists, and left at once. He arrived at Galena on the evening of the next day, intending there to take river passage to St. Louis. Early next morning he went to the steamboat landing. While there, some one casually remarked that a large party of immigrants had arrived the evening before from St. Louis on the very steamer on which he was about to take down passage. Curiosity caused him to make further in-

quiries, when to his astonishment he found that those whom he was going to escort from St. Louis had arrived. The delight of this meeting can well be imagined.

All were eager to leave immediately for their new home. Duerst directed that the able-bodied men should start in advance, and assist in preparing for the reception and shelter of the main body, while he would make some necessary arrangements and purchases, and follow as soon as possible. On the afternoon of the same day, eighteen men started on foot for the settlement, a distance of sixty-two miles. Such was their eagerness, that they travelled all night and the next day, without stopping, except to partake of food. On the evening of the second day, they arrived at Wiota, in LaFayette county. There they obtained lodging for the night in a stable. There was no road in the direction of the settlement, so procuring a guide, and buying some flour, and loading it on their backs, together with their tools and cooking utensils, they walked the rest of the way, arriving in the evening tired and footsore. They relate that every person whom they met or saw fled at their approach, and no wonder; for bearded, rough, and ragged as they were, loaded with all manner of baggage and tools, at a distance they more resembled a band of robbers than a party of honest immigrants.

Without delay the new comers began the building of a large hut, in addition to those already provided. A large excavation was made in the hillside, within the enclosure of what is now known as the old graveyard, close to the site of the present district school-house. Posts were set in the ground, and a roof made of boughs and wild hay; the sides were afterwards enclosed with boards hauled from Galena; the floor was at first the bare earth, this being afterwards covered with split poplar logs, the riven side uppermost; there were no windows or chimney. Some of the men were carpenters, all were workers, and the materials were close at hand, so that when in three days afterward all the colonists arrived they were passably sheltered, at least from wind and sun. Teams had been hired at Galena to convey the women, children, and provisions, but

not in sufficient numbers, so that all except the smallest and weakest had to take turns in riding and walking. On the always-to-be-remembered fifteenth day of August, 1845, all of the colonists, except those who strayed on the way, were assembled in the promised land of New Glarus.

The entire journey of over five thousand miles had been made by water, except the distance from Baltimore to Columbia, and from Galena to New Glarus. Taking into account the time consumed, and the vexatious delays and hardships undergone, the journey seems to have a parallel only in the exodus of the Jews from Egypt to their promised land. Only a hundred and eight remained out of the original hundred and ninety-three, the rest having from various causes deserted the party. Many of these deserters, however, in after years rejoined the colony and remained to share its labors and successes.

Sharing the then popular belief that America was mostly an uncultivated wilderness, many of the colonists had, as I have before stated, brought with them from Switzerland their tools, pots, pans, and kettles of the old style,—heavy and unwieldy, but having the sterling quality of durability. Despite the cost and trouble of transportation, it proved fortunate that they were brought; for in the utter absence of money at the first, no one could have bought anything, and these implements did duty for the whole settlement, being used in turn until each family had the means to buy their own. When the colonists arrived at their location, there was but little food on hand, except what they brought with them from Galena. The streams abounded in fish, but hooks and lines were few, so that one party was detailed to catch grasshoppers for bait, and another to catch fish. A large number were soon caught, but in the making up of the supplies salt had been forgotten. Hunger and want, however, are excellent cooks. The large hut answered the purpose of a shelter very well in the day time and in fair weather; but at night and on rainy days the inmates were crowded like sheep in a pen, to avoid the drip. New log houses, sixteen in number, rude and simple, roofed with wild hay, and capable of accommo-

dating two families each, were put up as fast as possible. When Christmas arrived, the colony was fairly housed, and in a measure prepared for winter.

Taking Root.

The beginning was now made. The land was bought and surveyed, but the immediate prospect was dismal enough. Far away from communication with their old home, with neighbors who were strangers and looked upon them with distrust; ignorant of the language, customs, manners, and laws of the new country; knowing nothing of the prevalent mode of cultivating the soil, and in want of proper clothing and the necessaries of life, it certainly was a dark outlook to these colonists. If it had not been that the sum of a thousand dollars, provided in Switzerland for their assistance, arrived just at this time, it would indeed have gone hard with them. This money, under the direction of the leaders, was wisely expended: a portion for food and clothing, and the remainder for stock of various kinds.

Streiff wrote at this time to the Emigration Society: "I buy the provisions in large quantities and distribute them at cost, charging the amount to those who have no means, and receiving payment from those who are more fortunate. I supply all, even those who have means to buy, as they could not buy as cheaply themselves. Flour per cwt. costs two dollars, beef two and a half cents a lb. by the quarter, tallow four cents, lard four cents, and potatoes twenty-two cents per bushel. Should the people do well, I shall call upon them to repay these advances."

The first winter passed quietly. Beyond planning for the work of the coming season, and providing the necessary fuel, little could be done. In the spring, the colonists drew lots for their twenty-acre portions, which were mostly meadow or prairie land. The timber-lot of eighty acres, some two miles away, was held in common; for more than a year, each colonist used from it what he needed, and then it was divided into two-and-a-half-acre lots, one to go

with each twenty-acre tract. It was agreed that the cost of the land at the time of purchase, together with advances made for any other purpose, should be repaid by the colonists without interest, within ten years. Should any person abandon or refuse to accept his tract, the next Swiss emigrant settler might take it. Only a few of these tracts were abandoned, and all were paid for before the ten years had expired.

It is proper to record a secession on a small scale. Small as the canton of Glarus is, ranges of lofty mountains divide it into two natural divisions, the Great and Little valleys. Each of these valleys, and in fact almost every village, has some peculiarity of language and customs, and the inhabitants of each section cherish a strong clannish feeling and affection for their own people. This clannish spirit, born in the valleys of the fatherland, showed itself from the start, in spite of their common interest in the present venture. Each group of colonists preferred to associate with their own valley people. This feeling was particularly strong among the Little-valley folk, perhaps because of the secluded location of their old home. About one-fourth of the settlers were from the Little-valley. Some matters of disagreement, trifling in themselves, caused a division, and this led to the secession of about twenty-five of these persons. A few weeks after their arrival, they erected a separate shelter for themselves on the east bank of the stream, about eighty rods from the main habitation, and close to the present bridge. But in the spring they rejoined the main body. Several of these same families, after a year or two, abandoned the colony altogether, and removed to larger tracts of land in the towns of Mt. Pleasant and Sylvester, some twelve miles distant, where there is now a prosperous and large settlement, mainly of Little-valley people. The younger portion of the community have, however, outgrown the old clannish distrust, and the two groups have become, through intermarriage and other social ties, united and harmonious.

After the allotment of the land had been made, each colonist began to clear and plow his tract, in which labor the

women rendered assistance, as most of them were accustomed from childhood to outdoor work. At first the breaking was slow and laborious, being done with spades and shovels, for no teams or plows were obtained until later in the season. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetables were thus planted; and later, some sod corn. During the first spring (1846), drovers from Ohio brought droves of cows to Exeter. The colonists hearing of it set out to purchase, and being excellent judges of cattle soon selected the best animals of the herd, in sufficient numbers to give each family one. These cost twelve dollars per head, and were paid for out of the reserve fund before mentioned. Additional cabins were now built on a separate plat, so as to form a village, and each family soon had a home of its own. With a hut and a cow for each household, and vegetables growing, the frugal people began to feel contented and prosperous. Like a young tree the colony had at last taken root, and was growing.

Progress towards prosperity and independence was naturally slow, because of want of adequate means to buy tools and stock, and ignorance in the manner of tilling the soil and taking care of crops after the methods of this country. Generally, in their native home, no horses or plows can be used in agriculture, — spading, sowing, mowing, etc., all being done by hand. The hay and other products are carried on the backs of men and women. In fact, the colonists were ignorant of all farming methods, except the care of cattle and the making of butter and cheese. A beginning under such conditions would have been most discouraging to a people less used to toil and privation. Without money, without skill, many thousands of miles from those on whom they had claims for assistance, it required the exercise of the firmest determination, courage, and faith, to hold out. Too much credit cannot be given to those in whom lay the care and direction of the colony, in its first efforts to take root. Almost daily they were called upon to administer comfort and aid on the one hand, and to reprove or arbitrate on the other. They performed the functions of teacher, physician, pas-

tor, and judge, with patience and tact. In this connection, Messrs. Streiff, Duerst, and J. J. Tschudy, and Pastor Streissguth deserve special mention. Notwithstanding their efforts, however, there was much dissatisfaction and trouble for two or three years. If it had not been for the difficulty in returning home from so remote a place, and the utter want of means, it is more than likely that enough would have left and returned to Switzerland, or gone to other places, to break up the colony. But most of them willingly or unwillingly accepted the situation, and made up their minds to win success.

After putting in their little crops, it was evident that something must be done to provide money for clothing and other necessaries, until the land should nourish the people. Many of the men, and also women, sought and found work elsewhere,—the men in the lead mines at Exeter and Mineral Point, and on the farms of the older settlers in the district; while the women engaged themselves as domestic servants, washerwomen,—in fact, doing anything by which they could honestly earn something. In those days, a man's wages were fifty cents and board per day, and even this small amount was paid mostly in flour, meat, potatoes, or other produce, which the Swiss workmen carried home on their shoulders, often as far as twenty-five miles. Money was then almost unknown in rural Wisconsin. In this way they contrived to live, until they could subdue enough land from which to win food at home.

When the colonists went into winter quarters at the close of the year 1845, Judge Nicholas Duerst returned to his native Switzerland, much to the regret of all. Upon his arrival home, the friends of the colony prevailed upon J. J. Tschudy to accept the position he had vacated. Mr. Tschudy arrived at the settlement in the autumn of 1846, and resided there until 1856, during which time he ably continued the work of his predecessor. By his judicious counsel and management, he won the approval and esteem not only of his countrymen but of all classes of people.

Material Progress.

During the first two seasons, the requisite labor of building, and breaking land, was performed mostly in common. Out of the common fund, Streiff purchased four yoke of oxen. They were used in regular turn by each settler, for breaking, drawing wood, or other necessary work. These oxen are reported to have had fully as hard fare and service as any of the colonists. After becoming acquainted with the older settlers in the vicinity, the Swiss learned from them valuable lessons in the methods of American agriculture, and also obtained from the latter timely assistance. Among those often mentioned by the colonists with feelings of gratitude, were Capt. Otis Ross, Theodore Greenwood, Charles George, and the Armstrongs. Noah Phelps and Norman Churchill, of Monroe, are also mentioned as having, in a spirit of kindly charity, collected and brought to the colony a wagon-load of provisions and clothing for the destitute settlers, during the year 1847.

From 1847 to 1854, although the material progress of the colony was slow, it was sure. Every year's count showed an increasing gain in property. In a very short time the Swiss realized the truth of the Ohio-river captain's assertion that twenty acres in this country was as nothing; and all money, slowly and toilfully earned, was carefully hoarded. As soon as fifty dollars was saved by a colonist, he promptly invested it in a forty-acre tract of government land. The journey to the land office at Mineral Point, thirty-five miles distant, was mostly made on foot, for prior to 1850 there were very few horses in the colony. Counts of stock, etc., in the colony, made in 1847 and 1849, resulted as follows:

	1847.	1849.		1847.	1849.
Horses	2	1	Calves	25	51
Bull	1	1	Sheep	..	15
Oxen and steers	16	41	Hogs	193	1,482
Cows	37	49	Land broke (acres)	109	280
Heifers	15	40	Population	104	125

I find from the records, the following list of heads of families, who were the original colonists of 1845:

	Wife.	Children.		Wife.	Children.
Fridolin Babler	1	2	George Legler	1	5
Oswald Babler	1	5	J. Caspar Legler	1	5
Caspar Becker	—	1	Abraham Schindler	1	3
Fridolin Becker	1	1	Balthasar Schindler	—	1
Jost Becker	1	—	David Schindler	—	—
Balthasar Duerst	1	4	Mathias Schmid	1	4
Mathias Duerst	1	2	Anton Stauffacher	1	4
Fridolin Hefti	1	2	Henry Stauffacher	1	6
Fridolin Hoesli	1	2	Jacob Stauffacher	1	3
Henry Hoesli	1	2	[1] Peter Stauffacher's family	1	4
Marcus Hoesli	—	2	Rudolph Stauffacher	1	4
Mathew Hoesli	1	2	Fridolin Streiff	1	2
Fridolin Legler, Sr.	1	5	Hilarius Wild	1	1
Fridolin Legler, Jr.	1	1			

Total: 26 men; 23 wives; 73 children — 122 in all.

Up to the twentieth of November, 1846, seven persons had died, and two were born in the colony, while eight colonists and their families had gone away, leaving their lots. Up to the same date there were twenty dwellings in the colony. From the account rendered, we find the whole amount of money advanced by the association for the founding of the colony to have been $5,600. This includes cost of exploration and location, passage of emigrants, purchase of twelve hundred and eighty acres of land, and subsistence.

As might be expected, the reports of the colonists in their first letters to friends at home were of the most contradictory character. Some were hopeful, while others were full of complaints of hardship, hunger, and privation, and the latter had a great deal of foundation for their tales of woe; for as late as 1850 the Rev. William Streissguth, the first pastor, writes that, owing to the breaking of the threshing

[1] He died on the journey, at Galena.

machine, no wheat could be had to take to mill. In consequence, for some days there was not a pound of flour in the settlement, and he ate three meals a day of boiled potatoes alone. He further writes that, while on Sundays the people are simply but decently dressed, on week days one often meets those who from the number and character of the patches composing their clothing, might pass for traveling sample cards; sun and moon could freely look through their rents. "But," he adds, "this is so common that it causes no embarrassment, there being no good reason why knees and elbows should not rejoice in the sunshine, as well as hands and face." He further says: "Our colonists console each other with the hopeful thought that they are in the way of attaining, in the near future, a pleasant home free from debt, when they will be able to regard the needs of the body more in accordance with their wishes."

From 1850 on, it became evident that the colony had taken root firmly, and was thriving: there were nearer and better markets for their spare produce; and the constantly increasing acreage of tilled land showed thrift and progress in stronger terms than reports or letters.

The outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, and the consequent immense rise in the price of wheat, the principal product of the west at that time, caused a large and increasing immigration to the Mississippi valley, and the New Glarus colony received a steady acquisition of Swiss immigrants each year, mostly of a class who possessed sufficient means to buy land and stock, and to make improvements. The new comers were not only from Glarus, but from other parts of Switzerland as well. Families and individuals from elsewhere in the fatherland, settled in Green county, in close proximity to the original colony,— notably the Bernese, in the towns of Jefferson, Clarno, and Washington.[1]

From time to time, immigrants would come out, and after

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, viii., p. 438, for Mr. Luchsinger's account of the establishment of the colony of people from Bilten, in old Glarus, in 1847, at a point five miles from New Glarus.— ED.

a season become dissatisfied and return to Switzerland, or go elsewhere in America. Yet on the whole, most of those who came to New Glarus remained, and at the close of the year 1854 it could be safely announced that the colony was a success. The enterprise was standing proof of what a small amount of money, well directed and expended, may do to better the condition of the honest poor of overcrowded places in the old and new world. As the money thus laid out has long since been refunded, the founding of this colony cost literally nothing, while the benefit to thousands has been priceless.

Of these hardy first-comers but few survive, and they are year by year becoming fewer; those who remain are enjoying the peaceful evening of their lives in comfort and ease. All those who practiced the old-time industry, economy, and sobriety, are, with their descendants, far better off than it would have been possible for them to become in their old home.

Lands in Green county have steadily advanced in price, especially since the advent of cheese factories and railroads. Cheap lands are no longer to be had, and there is but little disposition to sell at all, for to the Swiss there is only one New Glarus. Numbers of stalwart young men come each year from the old home across seas, to found new homes here. On the other hand, many young men have each year gone to the fertile prairies of the farther west, settling either in colonies or as independent settlers. Dodge county in Minnesota, Lincoln county in Dakota, Kossuth and Humboldt counties in Iowa, and the states of California and Oregon, contain large numbers of young men who have gone forth from New Glarus.

Religious History.

I have sketched the material progress of the colony, but my work would not be complete unless the social, educational, religious, and political history received some mention. The established and prevailing religion of the canton of Glarus is the Reformed Church of Switzerland.

About one-fifth of the people adhere to the Roman Catholic church, and by the terms of ancient compacts the government supports these two churches in proportion to the number of their members. The New Glarus colonists were all Protestants, and members of the Reformed church. During the first four years, no regular religious services were held. At the bedsides of the sick, and at the graves of the dead, would be read the impressive services of the church. The hymns and psalms were kept in memory by frequent practice on Sundays. At irregular intervals, itinerant preachers of the Methodist church made their appearance, and their rude but earnest exhortations, and their wild and mournfully-beautiful songs, were heard in the land. Hungry and thirsty as the people were for religious sympathy and teaching, they did not stop to question to what church these wandering preachers belonged.

In the autumn of 1849, the congregations of old Glarus awakened to a sense of the necessity and propriety of supplying religious instruction to the colony in America. William Streissguth, a graduate of the Mission House at Basle, was selected as preacher and missionary to the Wisconsin Swiss. On the sixth of April, 1850, he started from Basle, and on the twenty-third of June arrived at New Glarus, being warmly greeted by the colonists. He writes: "The greeting could not have been heartier, or more joyous. I thanked the giver of all good gifts, by whom I felt that the care of this portion of his people had been intrusted to me. My fears and prejudices vanished, as I met and conversed with them. I found that the religious feeling and sentiment had from disuse become only dormant, and not, as I and others had feared, extinct. Only regular and faithful work is required, to cause the nobler qualities again to assume control. Of course five years of utter neglect in the matter of schools and religious training, can hardly be made good by five years of even double zeal and effort."

In the little plain log church, neat but devoid of ornament, on the first Sunday after his arrival, Mr. Streissguth held divine service, and consecrated the building to the

worship of God. He adds, in his letter: "While this temple is in no way to be likened to that of Solomon, yet was our joy and thankfulness as great as that of Solomon, when he with all of Israel consecrated his temple." On the Tuesday following, the people were organized as an independent congregation of the Swiss Reformed church. J. J. Tschudy was elected president, and a board of capable trustees was selected. Arrangements were made for religious and secular teaching of the children in the German language, which after five years of almost total intermission was found to be a difficult task. Streissguth writes: "During the first hours of my labors as a teacher, I hardly realized that the flock around me were Christian children, and not wild heathen." But the zeal of the young missionary was equal to the occasion, and enthusiasm and tact succeeded in bringing order into the minds of his pupils, and restoring the knowledge of religious truth in the minds of young and old.

The intrepid pastor had only his own strength to support him in his work. There was no conference, no synod, no general assembly, to aid or instruct him. He was as much a pioneer, thrown upon his own resources, as in their way were the colonists. At this time (1850), the congregation numbered sixty-four members, all heads of families except two or three. The pastor's duties were to hold service each Sunday morning, and religious instruction in the afternoon; during the week, there was instruction in reading and writing. He visited all of the families regularly, and in cases of sickness often served both as physician and pastor. As a missionary he had received the usual medical training. In short, he was a typical missionary, who aimed to perform the work of his Master thoroughly and well. At this time a branch Swiss colony, five miles distant, called Bilten, was founded. Streissguth also went to that place every four weeks, to preach and instruct. For the first year of his labor, and for his expenses of passage from Switzerland, he received from the council of the parishes in old Glarus two hundred dollars. For the second year, the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars was

voted. So much work for so little pay has since the days of the Apostles probably not been rendered.

The first house of worship in New Glarus was built of hewn logs in 1849, by voluntary contributions of labor, material, and money. The building was used also for a school-house, and place of public meeting. The school district bought it, when the stone church of to-day was built, and after the building of the present school-house the pioneer structure was sold and removed several miles east of the village, and used as a farm house. The stone church was built in 1858. It is a solid, plain structure, with a square tower, surmounted by a small dome containing two bells. Streissguth remained until 1855, being succeeded by Rev. John Zimmermann, also from Switzerland, who remained until 1859. The present pastor, Rev. John T. Etter, came in 1860, and has without interruption served the congregation to the present time, a period of thirty-two years.

A second church belongs to the Evangelical Association, whose manner of worship is the same as that of the Methodists. Their first itinerant preachers came into the vicinity in 1847. The Swiss of that day, and, in a measure, of the present day, regarded any one of their nation as degenerate and an apostate who became attached to any other denomination than the Reformed church; but in spite of opposition, dislike, and even persecution, converts to the new sect were made in some numbers. In 1859, the new congregation had so far gained in numbers and wealth as to be able to build a large and convenient meeting-house, on a hill about two miles south from the village — they not venturing at that time, in consequence of the strong prejudice against them, to build in the hamlet itself. In 1865, this feeling had so far softened that it was resolved to move the building into the village. The wholesome protection of the laws, combined with a more liberal and fraternal spirit, have removed every fear of trouble, so that now meetings are regularly held and well attended. In the year 1890, a fine large frame church was built in the village, on a commanding site, by this congregation. The frequent changes in the ministry of the Evangelical church make it difficult

to give a list of its preachers. Its congregation comprises about one-fourth of the people, some of whom are among the most worthy and progressive citizens of the community.

may charitably be presumed that the former dislike of the orthodox Swiss to those of their people who changed their faith had its origin in the conservative veneration for things as they are in Switzerland, rather than in any spirit of blind persecution.

In the Reformed church, this veneration for what is customary at home causes strict adherence to the ancient forms of worship. The New Glarus congregation is nominally in connection with the synod of eastern Switzerland, but the relation is of no practical benefit to either. The hymn and prayer books, and catechisms, are imported as needed, none of this kind being printed or used in the United States. The necessary expenses in support of the Reformed church are defrayed by levying yearly a tax equally on the heads of families, rich and poor. The amount is determined at the annual meeting, at which only the male members attend or vote. The meeting also makes or alters the rules for the good of the congregation. Repeated efforts have been made by kindred synods in the United States to cause this church at New Glarus to join them, but all attempts in that direction have failed on account of an independent spirit which will not brook even the semblance of control. The members say that in the days of their early struggles and poverty, no helping hand was extended to them from any synod, and they will have none of their connection now.[1]

Education.

As I have already stated, the matter of common schools received some attention soon after the colony was founded. Little, however, has even yet been done towards a higher education. A limited number of young men have with commendable energy gone to other places, and acquired such ad-

[1] Mr. Luchsinger's article in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, viii., gives at pp. 429–431, an interesting description of the curious church services and customs at New Glarus.— ED.

vanced instruction as their means afforded. Several of these have become successful teachers, merchants, and professional men. Nevertheless, sufficient attention has not yet been paid to the training of the many bright young men and women for professional careers. One reason, presumably, is the notion, somewhat prevalent among the elders, that such education spoils boys for workers, and girls for housewives. This apathy in the matter of higher education, and in providing intellectual food and enjoyment for all, was excusable at the beginning of the settlement; at that time, and for a number of years afterward, all the best thought, labor, and energy was necessary to provide food, shelter, and clothing. But the habit of thought in that direction became in too many instances a second nature, lasting long after the necessity for parsimonious economy had passed away. As a consequence, the intellectual development has not kept pace with the material condition of the people. Every young person has longings for mental enjoyment, which must not be ignored. If the duty of parents and teachers to provide intellectual and educating recreations has been neglected, he is perforce obliged to seek his companions and pleasures where he can find them. Hence the saloon has prospered at the expense of the literary society, and card and billiard tables at the expense of public libraries and lyceums. However, better things are hoped for in this direction. Many parents have awakened to a sense of the necessity of doing something more for their children than getting for them money and lands; and the next generation will doubtless show a prouder array of men and women who can and have distinguished themselves in the learned professions.[1]

[1] See *Ibid.*, pp. 432–434, for historical sketch of the New Glarus schools, English and German. The first district school (English) was started in 1847 by a Mr. Cowan, in Balthasar Schindler's log house. The first district school-house was built in 1849, Peter Jenny being the teacher during some six years following. The German schools in the village were ably conducted, a Mr. Ernst being the first teacher. A favorite master, F. Knobel, of old Glarus, taught from 1867 to 1890, dying in Milwaukee in 1892. On pp. 437, 438, *Ibid.*, Mr. Luchsinger describes the extensive manu-

Retrospect.

The political history of the settlement is not an exciting one. The township of New Glarus was named and organized as such in April, 1850, prior to which the territory comprising it had been attached for civil purposes to the adjoining town of York, and was popularly known as "the Swiss colony." The plat containing the colony lands, parcelled into sixty twenty acre lots, was surveyed by A. W. Comfort, August 29, 1845. The village was laid out and platted by Samuel Spangler, of Monroe, in 1851. From the beginning the political preferences of the people have been mostly for the democratic party; two-thirds or more of the colonists vote that way. It is another instance of the conservatism of these Swiss settlers, that they have mainly adhered through all changes to the political creed they first embraced. For a man to change his politics is quite as rare among them as to change his religion. Nevertheless, a candidate known to be worthy and competent will get their support, irrespective of party. Elections are for the most part conducted quietly, and but little of the usual electioneering jobbing or trading is done. Public speakers of all parties are always respectfully heard and well received. J. J. Tschudy was the first Swiss elected to a county office, being chosen register of deeds in 1858; he served as such two terms, and then was elected county clerk four times, serving from 1864 to 1873. Mathias Marty was elected county clerk in 1862, and from 1872 to 1886. John Luchsinger was elected five times to the state assembly. In the session of 1887, both the Green county members, John Luchsinger and J. C. Zimmerman, were Swiss; the former was also county treasurer from 1883 to 1887. Edward Ruegger was elected sheriff in 1882, and Thomas Luchsinger in 1890.

facture of cheese in New Glarus. Early industries are described on p. 437, — the first saw-mill (water power) being built by Joshua Wild in 1851; David Klassy built the first grist-mill in 1862; in 1867, Dr. Blumer & Co. operated the first brewery. Upon p. 431, the author gives an entertainin g account of the religious festival of Kilbi, on the last Sunday of September in each year.— ED.

No lawyer has ever located in the settlement. The Swiss have a horror of litigation, and it is only when all other means fail that one resorts to courts of justice. The few cases in which the aid of a lawyer has been required were managed by attorneys from Monroe. With a people so industrious and economical, there can be little or no litigation. Possibly this characteristic may have been imparted in some degree to the other citizens of Green county, for true it is that in proportion to the population and wealth there are less days of court and fewer lawyers there than in any other like county in the state.

In a less degree this may be said of the physicians. The plain, simple habits of living, and regular exercise, combine with the healthful climate and pure water to keep the people healthy above the average.[1]

In 1861, when the civil war broke out, the Swiss in New Glarus and vicinity furnished their full proportion of volunteers, ninety-eight boys in blue, who did not dishonor the memory of their brave sires who fought the battles of Swiss independence in the fatherland.

In 1887, the Illinois Central railway projected and built a railway from Freeport, via Monroe, to Madison, the line running within three miles of New Glarus. Efforts were made to obtain a branch of this road to run to the village, but no definite promise could be obtained from the company. Pending the negotiations, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, whose territory had been invaded by the new road, sent its agents to New Glarus with a definite proposition to build a road from its terminus at Albany. With business-like promptness, the New Glarus people seized this opportunity to connect themselves with

[1] J. J. Tschudy was the first to render assistance to the sick, he having some knowledge of medicine and a small stock of medicine when he came over. Rev. Mr. Streissguth afterwards supplied medical aid to the colonists; and later Bonjour, a French Swiss, dispensed drugs. In 1853 Dr. S. Blumer, a good physician from Glarus, arrived, and remained until 1866, when he removed to Iowa. His son, J. J. Blumer, M. D., has been located in New Glarus for twenty years, and is justly considered an excellent physician.

the rest of the world, and in a short time the terms proposed by the St. Paul company were agreed to. In the space of four months, the cars were running into New Glarus village, and the hitherto-secluded Swiss settlement was brought into close and speedy contact with the outer world. Undoubtedly, the influx of new people and fresh thought, which will come from this closer communication with the rest of mankind, will be of vast and permanent benefit. Already, a few Americans and Germans have intermarried and settled among the Swiss, and while a definite dividing line of language and customs will probably remain for many years, the former exclusiveness has vanished.

The old-time, simple, generous, and genuine hospitality is still practised. The veriest miser among the Swiss of New Glarus would be ashamed to have it said that he was inhospitable. The homely, hearty manners towards each other and to strangers show the kindly spirit of the people. Not but what they are good haters, when wronged or affronted: a real or fancied injury often causes a coldness which lasts through life.

In such a community, so closely connected by ties of kindred and nativity, tidings of local events are naturally of the most interest. Hence the German county newspaper, the *Green County Herald*, published at Monroe by R. Kohli, a Swiss, receives a large patronage, and its weekly visits are always welcome. However, the local neighborhood gossip is still carried from house to house in the primitive way, with a speed that appears marvelous. The news of births, deaths, marriages, and other events, spreads into the remotest valleys by word of mouth. It has often been said that one cannot jostle even the remotest corner of the Swiss settlement but the whole of it feels the jar. In other words, it is never safe to oppress or slander one Swiss, unless the offender is prepared to cope with an endless number of relatives.

Old-fashioned simplicity in dress is gradually yielding to the commands of fashion. Both young men and young women have discovered that it is as perfectly proper to go

clothed in as good material as they can afford, as it is to build houses and barns well and tasteful. Maidens have found out that a dress up with the times enhances their natural charms; and where ten years ago every woman made her own gowns in the plainest manner, and with the utmost saving of material in quality and quantity, now several fashionable dressmakers have steady and paying employment. The elders, however, still avoid the fashions, and dress in the simple styles of yore.

As a matter of course, after an absence from their old home for so many years, the attachment to the fatherland has diminished. Yet intercourse with the friends and relatives among the mountains across the water is quite generally kept up; newspapers and letters are regularly exchanged, and some of the old-timers read the little Swiss newspapers with more interest than they would the great American journals. It is more than a surmise that in the hearts of most of the early emigrants the idea long existed that they would only remain in this country long enough to amass a modest competence, and then return to their old home to enjoy it. Indeed, the people of some other nationalities who come to this country at the present time are known to entertain and carry out this idea. Many Swiss who have gained means have revisited the old home,—some of them a number of times,—but very few have remained there. The halo which memory had cast over the scenes of childhood and youth was found to have vanished, and there remained only the reality of the old, terrible struggle with poverty which had driven them forth. They returned to America more American than ever. To the Swiss-American, the grand distances, the great opportunities, the liberal thought, and the public institutions of this country, seem by comparison to make the conditions of life in the old home appear narrow, mean, and unbearable. As some have expressed it, there seems to be hardly room there to breathe. Yet the love for the old home, and its heroic history, cannot be extinguished, and next to being Americans the pride of a Swiss is to be a Swiss. While apparently he quietly submits to being called a German by those who judge of his

nation by his language, yet in his heart he vigorously protests,— much as a Scotchman would, to be called an Englishman, or an Irishman.

How long this Swiss community at New Glarus will remain distinctive as now cannot be foretold; but judging from the history of colonies of German-speaking people in some of the older states, it will be safe to predict that the Swiss dialect will exist and be spoken here two hundred years hence, and that the people then living will bear the stamp of the early influence.

Crime has been rare in New Glarus; larceny is almost unknown; locked houses and barns are the exception, and every one has confidence in his neighbor's honesty. The most frequent offenses are disturbances caused by too free indulgence in liquor, or perhaps by social rivalry among the young men. There have been but two murders in the township, from the beginning, and in one of these two strangers were the principals.

The success of this colony has attracted wide attention, and much inquiry has been made in regard to the manner of founding it. Kentucky and Tennessee have with great success adopted the colony plan for the settlement of their mountain lands with Swiss. Experience has demonstrated that transplanting people in groups or colonies is the most successful way. Such groups, taken from the same neighborhood, carry with them a feeling of confidence and mutual support, so necessary for the growth and well-doing of communities. They can more freely help and sympathize with each other than if they were strangers, and are not so liable to become homesick from that feeling of utter loneliness and desertion which depresses the settler who comes by himself to a new land.

The colonial, or rather the communal, plan of mutual labor and assistance, which was one of the features in the inception of the New Glarus colony, was abandoned as soon as the colonists discovered that twenty acres was as nothing in this country. Those colonists to whose lot fell desirable tracts retained them, and as they could earn or borrow money made haste to enlarge their fields by the purchase

of other good land. Others, to whom fell rough tracts, either left them or never took possession, and preëmpted or bought claims outside the original boundaries. The eyes of all were early opened to the fact that government land at a dollar and a quarter an acre was a good thing to get plenty of; so, before 1856, all the government land in the vicinity was purchased, and the colony as a mutual institution under the control of directors had ceased to exist. A sturdy, growing Swiss American settlement has taken its place. As a nurse to nourish the young community, the parental colony system in this instance proved to be the best.

Thus have been evolved from feeble beginnings, this New Glarus colony, and other Swiss settlements in Green county, which were transplanted in 1845 from the headwaters of the Rhine to the headwaters of the Mississippi. The movement started with about a hundred poverty-stricken people, whose very destitution anchored them to their new home, compelling them to stay where they were placed. These have now (1892) grown into communities aggregating eight thousand persons, whose landed possessions have increased from twelve hundred and eighty acres of wild land to more than ninety thousand acres, fertile and improved. They have at their command comfortable homes and all modern improvements in machinery. As farmers, they are now equal to the best. In the cities and villages, they are successful merchants, artisans, and professional men, and are deemed good citizens and neighbors. They are prosperous beyond comparison with what they would have been had they or their parents not had the courage to leave the old home. There is abundant cause to thank God that he guided their thoughts and their footsteps to this wide land of freedom and plenty; that he has blessed their efforts with success; and that their future and that of their children is so full of promise.

Honor and credit are due to all of the early settlers for their unflinching courage and untiring industry; but those especially are worthy of mention, whose good judgment,

skill, and intelligence guided the feeble efforts of the colony in its infancy and youth, who did their best to smooth over the rough places, and whose faith and courage inspired hope when hardship and want bred discouragement. The names of F. Streiff and Nicholas Duerst, the pioneers; Rev. William Streissguth, pastor and physician; J. J. Tschudy, arbitrator, teacher, physician, and adviser; F. Egger, Mathias Duerst, George Legler, and Peter Jenny Elmer, men whose wise judgment and counsel were directed to the good of the community, all deserve in particular to be mentioned. Neither should we omit the members of the association in old Glarus, whose judicious action, and whose faith and money, made it possible to plant this stake in the wilderness.

Memorial Celebrations.

The year 1853 saw the first celebration of the fourth of July at New Glarus. The "reasons why we celebrate" were given to the settlers by J. J. Tschudy. Since that time the day has annually and loyally been celebrated in a manner not behind that of native American settlements.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the settlement was celebrated in 1870, with all the feeling and interest of a popular holiday. There were speeches and historical papers relating to the early times that tried the endurance and courage of the founders; and songs of praise and rejoicing attested the general good feeling. A great number of the people of New Glarus were present, and many who had removed to other places made this celebration the occasion for a visit to the old colony and to old friends.

In view of the fact that the original colonists were rapidly getting fewer, it was decided to hold another celebration in 1885,— the fortieth. It was held on the twelfth of August, in a small grove just west of the village of New Glarus, in sight of the valley down which the tired group of emigrants had, forty years before, trudged their weary way into the wilderness which was to be their new home. The people from the surrounding country and from afar

gathered in great numbers; and with the little group of twelve toil-worn, wrinkled, and gray-haired survivors in their midst, celebrated in appropriate fashion the event of the coming of the fathers. In places of honor, decorated with flowers, were seated the venerable remnant of that band of men and women who had broken the way for posterity. The eyes of the founders were dim with emotion when one after the other related his or her tale of toil, hardship, and poverty. But their hearts swelled with thanksgiving to the God who had upheld them and crowned their efforts with success; who had not only permitted them to see the promised land, but to enter and enjoy the fruits thereof.[1]

To these few last colonists, to the diary of Mathias Duerst, and to the reports on the colony made by Tschudy and Streissguth, and printed in Switzerland in 1847 and 1849, in addition to his own recollections, the author is indebted for the facts and data given in this account; and he tenders his sincere thanks to all those whose information and encouragement have made its preparation possible.

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[1] The five hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Swiss republic was in 1891 celebrated in all parts of the world where Swiss had settled in numbers. But nowhere was it observed with more spirit and enthusiasm than in Green county. At first, merely a modest gathering was proposed; but as preparations were being made, the interest in the matter grew, until it was found imperative that a demonstration worthy of the event must be made. On one of the finest of September days, in a location at the village of New Glarus by nature perfectly "shaped for such purpose," an immense concourse of people — estimated at from six to eight thousand — was gathered from all parts of southern Wisconsin, and assisted in the ceremonies of the occasion. Excellent speaking, singing, music, and tableaux occupied the day to the delight and enjoyment of the vast audience, composed of people of all nationalities, who had come to honor the memory of the founding of the oldest and bravest republic of modern times.

LANGUAGE.— At New Glarus, is spoken one of the broadest and most pronounced of the many Swiss dialects of the German language, enriched by several forceful words not found in any German or other dictionary. Many of these words and phrases, peculiar to old Glarus and its Wisconsin offshoot, are unpronounceable save by the native, and at once stamp the speaker's origin. Correct utterance of these, is the sure test of a Glarusite.

A RARE WISCONSIN BOOK.

BY THEODORE LEE COLE.

When beginning my study of the bibliography of American statute laws, some years ago, my attention was attracted by the resolution passed by the Wisconsin legislature, January 19, 1838, directing "That the following entitled acts selected from those now in force in this Territory, be printed and published as an appendix to the pamphlet laws of the present session," and giving the titles thereof, a hundred and twenty-five in number.[1] There being no appendix of any kind to the current volume of the laws of that session, it occurred to me that possibly this publication had been made in some other form. I carefully examined all those libraries, public and private, both within the state and elsewhere, likely to contain it. I also inquired, in person or by letter, of everyone likely to have, or to know of, such appendix; but so far from finding it, I could not find any one who had even heard of it. In the meantime I had been searching the journals and laws of the legislature, and discovered there so interesting a thread of legislative history, in the matter of early official printing, and printers, in Wisconsin, that I venture to give some account of it.

The second session of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Wisconsin was held at Burlington (now in Iowa), from November, 1837, to January, 1838, and is known as the "Winter session of 1837–38." On December 29, 1837, a joint committee was appointed — Messrs. Foley, Smith, and Sweet of the council, and Shoales, Quigley, and Chance of the house — to make a selection for publication, of laws

[1] *Acts of Legis. of Wis.*, winter session of 1837–38 (Burlington, Iowa, 1838), p. 329. Reprint thereof (1867), p. 529.

from the statutes of Michigan.[1] January 17, 1838, the resolution reported by this committee was passed by both houses, was approved by the governor on the nineteenth, and is the one quoted from above.

The necessity for this publication was, the great difficulty in ascertaining what were the laws of Wisconsin at that time. Those of Michigan Territory, as they stood July 3, 1836, had been continued in force in Wisconsin, by the organic act, and were still the large body of the law. They could only be found in the *Revised Statutes* of Michigan of 1833, and the session-laws of 1834, 1834–35, and 1835. Very few of these books were to be found on the west side of Lake Michigan — how few, may be inferred from a sentence in the letter from Judge Mason quoted below, and from the resolution of the council adopted in December, 1838,[2] that a messenger go from Madison to Green Bay, "to procure for the use of the legislature such numbers as may be had of copies" of these laws, for which his expenses were allowed at fifty dollars.[3] Not only the people, but the lawyers, judges, and legislators, were unable to obtain copies of the laws by which they were to govern, or to be governed.

A resolution approved January 16, 1838, had given the printing of the laws of the 1837–38 session to James Clarke & Co., of Burlington, "the same to be ready for distribution on or before the fifteenth day of May next;" and another resolution, of the nineteenth, required the printer to reprint the laws of the first session (1836), "and attach the same to the laws" of the present session.[4] This volume, in three parts — 1st, laws of 1836 reprinted; 2nd, laws of 1837–38; and 3rd, the selected Michigan acts — was the one I was hunting for, but could not find. I found the *Acts of* 1837–38, which I have been citing, but it bears the imprint of James G. Edwards, and has with it the acts of the next session (June 1838), instead of the two reprints, and is quite a different book.

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[1] *Council Jour.*, *Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1837–38, p. 95; and *House Jour.*, p. 233.

[2] *Council Jour.*, 1838, p. 39.

[3] *Local Acts*, 1838–39, p. 21. The messenger was Charles P. Green.

[4] *Acts*, 1837–38, pp. 326, 327; reprint thereof (1867), pp. 524, 526.

Continuing the search of the journals, I found that on again meeting in Burlington, in June, 1838, the legislature could find neither the book they had been at such pains to provide for their enlightenment, nor their printer, James Clarke. His foreman testified, "that Mr. Clarke left Burlington destined for some of the eastern cities, taking along with him several extracts from the statutes of Michigan, as he supposes, for the purpose of procuring the printing of them in pamphlet form, and to await the arrival, after they should have been prepared for that purpose, of the manuscript copies of the laws passed at our late session;" and "that for some reason, he knows not what, the manuscripts were not sent, and that it is his belief that Mr. Clarke is now awaiting the receipt of the copies."[1]

This was disappointing, but the only remedy seemed to be to get another printer. After several committees had reported on the subject, and bids had been received, James G. Edwards, of Fort Madison (now in Lee county, Iowa), gave bond, on June 30, 1838, in the sum of five thousand dollars, for the faithful performance of his contract to print all the laws, etc., directed to be printed by the three resolutions of the last session, "the whole to be done up in one volume, to be half-bound in calf, and fifteen hundred copies thereof to be delivered at Fort Madison, W. T., to such agent as the legislative assembly shall appoint, within seventy-five days from the day of the date hereof."[2] On the twenty-fifth, Charles Mason had been appointed as agent to receive the laws from Edwards, and to distribute them.[3]

The seventy-five days' limit of Edwards's contract expired September 13, 1838; but when the assembly met on November 26 following, at Madison,[4] we find them again disappointed, notwithstanding all their efforts to get these

[1] *House Jour.*, June, 1838, p. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[3] *Acts*, 1837–38, p. 361.

[4] The new capital of Wisconsin Territory. Not to be confounded with Fort Madison, now in Iowa.

laws printed. On December 6, a resolution was approved, appointing William B. Long "special messenger to proceed forthwith to the town of Burlington, in the Territory of Iowa, and procure for the use of this territory, such numbers of copies of the laws of the last session as may be the due proportion belonging to the Territory of Wisconsin."[1] This step Governor Dodge had recommended in his message. On December 10, however, Secretary Slaughter transmits a letter from the agent, Judge Mason, who writes from Burlington, November 21, 1838: "I am sorry that I am compelled to inform you that the laws * * * are not even yet entirely printed. * * * It would not probably be practicable to send them to your territory until the opening of navigation in the Spring. * * * The causes of this delay, as given by Mr. Edwards, are first the general sickness that pervaded the country, * * * and secondly, that it has not been practicable for him to obtain a copy of the printed laws, which were ordered to be republished. He has not been delayed a moment for want of copies of the laws of the last general [1837–38] and special [1838] sessions. These are all that Mr. Edwards himself is intending to print." And then Judge Mason gives the information — important, so far as our inquiry is concerned,—that "The laws of 1836 and those selected from the Michigan statutes which were ordered to be republished, *were printed in Pennsylvania*, under the direction of Mr. Clarke, of whom Mr. Edwards contracted to take them. Owing to the low stage of water in the Ohio, they have not been received, and will not probably arrive before spring. Owing to this fact Mr. Edwards has, I believe, concluded to have the laws he himself has printed, done up by themselves, so that they may be ready for distribution immediately as opportunity presents itself."[2] All this sounds strangely to our ears, but it gives a striking picture of conditions then existing in the Northwest.

Here then, at last, we have the official information that

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[1] *Acts*, 1838–39, *Appendix*, p. 4.

[2] *Council Jour.*, 1838–39, p. 138.

the selected laws had really been printed in 1838, and that a book, similar to the one I had been in search of, had once, at least, an existence. Clarke had tried faithfully to fulfill the duty imposed on him by the legislature, and had gone east to superintend the publication; unable to get the manuscript of the laws of the session of 1837-38, he had had printed all that he had "copy" for — to wit, the selected laws, and those of the session of 1836; Edwards, six months later, was able to print the very matter (the laws of 1837-38) that Clarke could not; and, unable to print the selections, and the laws of 1836, that Clarke had already printed, he wisely agreed to take Clarke's books with which to help fill his contract with the Territory.

Our next information gives a little brighter color to this dismal picture of delay. We learn that on December 17, 1838, Edwards delivered to Messenger Long, at Burlington, fifty-six copies of the laws of 1837-38 and of June, 1838, the rest of the edition having been sent to St. Louis for binding.[1] But the patience of our long-disappointed legislators had become exhausted, and on December 22, 1838, a resolution was adopted, reciting the contract with Edwards, and his failure fully to comply with its conditions, and directing him "not to proceed further with the printing or binding of said laws, and that whenever within two months, he shall deliver to the agent of this Territory, the sheets already printed, he shall be paid such compensation therefor as the legislature may deem just and reasonable."[2]

Evidently this determination on the part of the legislature was based on the fact that a joint committee had been appointed the tenth of December to make a full and complete revision of the laws — the *Revised Statutes* of 1839; on the completion of that work, and its adoption, these reprinted laws, which might have been so useful before, would now be replaced and almost wholly useless, except to the student of the history of the law, or to the bibliographer of a half-century later.

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[1] *House Jour.*, 1839, p. 258.

[2] *Acts*, 1838–39, *Resolutions*, p. 7.

The only further records in the journals and laws, as to these books and their printing, are memorials from Clarke and Edwards asking for compensation for printing them, and resolutions providing therefor. The matter seems to have been finally settled by the appropriation to Edwards, in August, 1840, of two thousand dollars for publishing the acts of 1837–38 and June, 1838; and to Clarke, in February, 1841, of one thousand dollars "for printing laws for the Territory, in the year 1838."[1]

Of the books themselves, Wisconsin probably got her due proportion of the acts of 1837–38 and 1838, printed by Edwards; but if any copies of Clarke's volume reached Wisconsin, diligent search and inquiry have failed to reveal them. Our last information about them is, that they were at Pittsburg, or some other Ohio-river point, awaiting high water to float them to the place where they were so much desired.

Iowa Territory had the same interest in the volume that Wisconsin had, and no more, since early in 1839 she too made a complete revision of the laws in force. Knowing, at last, that the Clarke volume once had an existence, I included Iowa in my search, and there, to my delight—how great only an enthusiastic book-hunter can know—I found just one copy, and I became its happy possessor. Perhaps it was one brought back by Clarke himself on his return from the east; very likely it is the only survivor of the accidents by flood and field, to the whole edition.

Following is a description of this rare Wisconsin book:

Title page: Acts | passed at the First and Second Sessions | of the | Legislative Assembly | of the | Territory of Wisconsin. | Published by authority. | Burlington, W. T. | James Clarke, printer to the Legislative Assembly. | 1838. | [and] | Appendix, | containing a number of the most important | Laws of Michigan, | extended over the Territory of Wisconsin by the Act of | Congress organizing said Territory. | Printed by authority. | 1838. | O. pp. 95+[1]+300.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Organic Law and Proclama-

[1] *Acts*, 1840–41, pp. 145, 154.

tions, pp. 3 to 12; Acts &c. of 1st session (1836), pp. 13 to 95; Certificate of true copies of foregoing, [1] page; Title to Appendix, 1 leaf; Laws of Michigan, pp. 3 to 293; 1 page blank; Index to Appendix, pp. 295 to 300.

It may be noted about the book, that: (1) The title page shows that Clarke intended, as required by the resolution, to include the acts of the second session, 1837–38; and this also accounts for the absence of an index to the laws of the first session, as he probably expected to index the two sessions together, when he should get those "manuscript copies" and have them printed; (2) the laws of the first session is a fairly accurate reprint of the former edition by the same printer (Belmont, 1836, pp. 88), but with some differences; (3) the reprinted Michigan laws comprise substantially the body of the general law then in force, and such of the local laws as applied to the new territory, and would have been exceedingly useful, could the book have been in the hands of those who wanted it so badly in 1838.

I have not yet heard of the existence of another copy, and believe my copy to be unique.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN WISCONSIN, MINNESOTA, AND MICHIGAN, HAVING A CHIPPEWA ORIGIN.

BY CHRYSOSTOM VERWYST, O. S. F.[1]

In Bishop Baraga's system of Chippewa orthography, the letter *a* is pronounced as in "father," or approximately as *au* in auger; *e*, as *a* in "name;" *i* (short), as in win; *i* (long), as *e* in "seen;" *o*, as in "lone;" *j*, as *s* in "sure;" *g*, as in "go"—never hard, as in "general;" *kw*, as *qu* in "queen." There is no *u* in Chippewa.

The following list of geographical names in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, having a Chippewa origin, is by no means exhaustive; it might largely be added to. Having no atlas or other work of geographical reference at hand, I give only such as occur to me.

Ahnapee (town, Wis.) — Corruption of *anin api* (when), contracted into *anipi* (pr. *ah-nah-pee*).

Aminicon (river, Wis.) — Corruption of *aminikan* (spawning ground). The syllable *ing* or *ng* is added to such words, to designate the locative case, or locality. Thus, *aminikaning* means to, at, or from the spawning ground.

Aniwa (town, Wis.) — Corruption of *aniwi* (those). *Aniwi* (pr. *au-nee-wee*) or *aniwa* refers, as a prefix, to superiority; e. g., *aniwigabawi*, he is taller than the rest; *aniwakiso aw mitig*, that tree is taller than the rest.

[1] Father Verwyst is a Franciscan missionary among the Chippewas of Wisconsin and Minnesota. He is the author of *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Allouez in the Lake Superior region* (Milwaukee and Chicago, 1886), a valuable monograph. In a letter to me, dated Superior. Wis., June 19, 1892, he says: "Please give due credit, in your introduction to this list of names, to Vincent Roy, a Chippewa merchant of Superior; to Antoine Gordon (Gaudin), of Gordon; and to M. Gurnoe, of Courtes Oreilles, a very intelligent Chippewa scholar, and for many years government Indian interpreter, who kindly assisted me in this matter."—ED.

Ashippun (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *ajiopan* (decayed lungs). *Aji* (pr. *ashee*), means decayed; *opan*, his lungs.

Ashwaubenon (creek, Wis.[1])—From *ashiwabiwining* (place where they watch, or keep a lookout,—as for enemies).

Askeaton (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *ashkiodon* (raw mouth). *Ashki* (pr. *ash-kee*), raw; *odon*, his mouth. Perhaps the place is named after some Indian of the locality, who had a raw, or sore mouth.

Bakagama (lake, Wis.)—Bakegama (branch lake; i. e., a lake which is a branch or part of another, generally of a larger, lake). Pr. *bau-kai-gau-mau.*

Checagon (lake, Mich.)—Corruption of *jigagong* (skunk place), pr. *skee-gah-gong*. It is the locative case of *jigag* (skunk), and means at, to, or from the place of skunks.

Chequamegon (bay, Wis.)—Corruption of *chagaouamigoung*, the French method of spelling *jagawamikong* (pr. *shau gau-wau-me-kong*), which means, a long, narrow strip of land running into a body of water, such as a lake or bay. A legendary explanation of the name will be found in my *Missionary Labors*, p. 181.

Chippewa (river and county, Wis.)—Abbreviation of the old *Ojibway*. The Chippewas call themselves *Odjibweg*.

Escanaba (river and town, Mich.)—Mr. Gurnoe says that the Indians of the vicinity call the place *Misconabe* (pr. *mis-co-nau-bai*), from *misko* (red), and *nabe* (man).

Gogebic (lake, Mich.)—From *gogibic* (diving place), pr. *go-gee-beek*. *Gogi* or *kogi* means, he dives down; *bic* refers to a body of water. Some pronounce the word, *Agogebic*, which means, a body of water hanging on high,—*agosi* or *agode* meaning, he or it hangs. The lake in question is situated on a considerable plateau, or elevation.

Ishpeming (town, Mich.)—Means above, on high.

Kalamazoo (river, county, and town, Mich.)—Corruption of *kikanamoso* (it smokes, or he is troubled with smoke—e. g., in his wigwam), pr. *kee-kah-nah-mo-zo*, or *kee-kau-nau-mo-zo*.

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., p. 234, for Vieau's tradition of the origin of the name.—Ed.

Kanabec (county, Minn.)—Corruption of *ginebic* (snake), pr. *gee-na-bik.*

Kaukauna (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *okakaning*, often shortened into *kakaning* (where they fish for pike, or pike fishing grounds), pr. *kau-kau-ning.*

Kegonsa (lake, Wis.)—Corruption of *gigosensag* (lake of small fishes), pr. *gee-go-sen-saug. Gigo* is fish; *gigosens*, a small fish; *gigosensag*, small fishes.

Kenockee (town, Mich.)—From *ginok* (he is long-legged), pr. *kee-no-kee.*

Kenosha (county and town, Wis.)—Baraga gives it as *kinoje* (pickerel or pike). Doubtless they were plentiful in the waters there.

Kewaskum (town, Wis.)—Either from *washkamo* (the road is crooked), pr. *wash-cum-o;* from *giweskam* (his tracks are toward home), pr. *kee-wai-skum; giwe* means, he goes home.

Kewaunee (county and town, Wis.)—Corruption of *kakiweonan* (I cross a point of land by boat), pr. *kah kee wai-o-nan.* Such a point of land is the peninsula between Green Bay and Lake Michigan, which is almost cut through by Sturgeon Bay. From *kakiweonan* we also have Kewenaw (Mich.) and Keweena (Wis.), similarly situated on peninsulas almost severed by water.

Koshkonong (lake and town, Wis.)—Probably a corruption of *gwaskwaning* (jumping), pr. *gwash-kwau-ning.* Some Indians pronounce the syllable *wa* like *o*, so they might have pronounced the word *goshkoning.*

Mackinac (island, Mich.)—From *mikinak* (a turtle), pr. *mik-ee-nak.* Refers to the general contour of the island. Mackinaw is another form of Mackinac.

Manawa (town, Wis.)—From either *minawa* (adverb, meaning again); *manea* (it is scarce), pr. *mau-na-au;* or *manepwa* (he has no tobacco, or, scarce of tobacco), pr. *mau-naip-wau.*

Manistique (river, lake, and town, Mich.)—From *manitigweia* (crooked river), pr. *mau-nee-teeg-wai-a.*

Manitowoc (county and town, Wis.)—Corruption of

manitoway (spirit spawn). Pagan Indians imagined that spirits spawn like fish.

Mattawan (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *mittawang* (sand).

Mazomanie (town, Wis.) — From *mosominan* (mooseberries), pr. *mo-zom-ee-nan.*

Meeme (town, Wis.) — Means pigeon, or dove.

Menominee (river, Wis.) — Corruption of *manominiy*, or *omanominig*, meaning wild-rice people; *manomin* means wild rice, and *manominike*, he gathers wild rice.

Mequon (town, Wis.) — From *miquan* (a feather), pr. *mee-gwaun.*

Michigamme (lake and town, Mich.) — From *michagami* (a large body of water), pr. *mich-ah-gau-mee.*

Michigan (lake and state) — Probably a corruption of the above. The Chippewas gave the name *kitchigami* (pr. *kee chee-gau-mee*) to Lake Superior, or other large bodies of water.

Milwaukee (river and town, Wis.) — M. Gaudin says it is from *minwaki* (good land). In Chippewa, the letter *n* is used instead of *l*, which latter is not found in pure Chippewa words. Mr. Gurnoe derives Milwaukee from *minewaki* (a promontory), pr. *mee-nai-wau-kee.* Such a promontory does project into the river there, being known of old as Walker's Point.

Minong (Isle Royale, Lake Superior) — The Chippewa name for this island is pr. *mee-nong*, and means a good, high place.

Misha Mokwa (town, Wis.)—Means, great bear. The word is used to designate a bear of extraordinary size — the patriarch, as it were, of all bears.

Missaukee (county, Mich.)—Corruption of *missisaging* (at the large mouth of a river), pr. *mis-si-saug-ing. Mishi* or *missi* refers, in compound words, to largeness; and *sauging* means, at the mouth of a river.

Mississippi (river)—Corrupt form of *mishisibi* (large river), pr. *mee-shee-see-bee. Misi*, or *michi*, is large, and *sibi*, river. The Chippewa also call it *missisibi* (pr. *mee-see-see-bee*), and *messisibi* (pr. *mes-sis-see-bee*). They also

say, *michisagaigan* (large inland lake), pr. *mee-shee-saugie-gan.*

Mosinee (falls and town, Wis.)—From *mosinig* (moose), pr. *mo-see-neeg.* There were probably Indians at these falls, in olden times, who were thus called from their tribal totem.

Mukwanago (lake and town, Wis.)—Perhaps from *makwanagong* (bear-lair, or place where the bear lies), pr. *mauk-wau-na gong.*

Muscoda (town, Wis.) — Corruption of *mashkodeng* (prairie). The French applied this name, corrupted into *Mascoutin*, to a tribe of Indians on the upper Fox river, in Wisconsin, because they lived in a prairie country. Muscatine, Iowa, is another corruption.

Muskego (town, Wis.), and **Muskegon** (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *mashkigong* (the locative case of *mashkig*, and means at, to, or from a swamp), pr. *mush-kee-gong.*

Nahma (town, Mich.) — From *namé* (sturgeon), pr. *na mai.*

Namekagon (river, Wis.) — From *namekagan* (sturgeon ground, or place of the sturgeons).

Nashotah (town, Wis.) — Corruption of *nijode* (a twin), pr. *nee-sho-da.*

Nebagamain (lake, Wis.) — Corruption of *nibegomowin* (watching for game at night, in a boat).

Necedah (town, Wis.) — Corruption of *nissida* (let there be three of us), pr. *nis-see-dah.*

Neebish (island and town, Mich.) — From *nibish* (bad water). In the Ottawa, an inland lake is called *nibish.*

Negaunee (town, Mich.)— Corruption of *nigani* (he walks ahead), pr. *nee-gau-nee.*

Nekimi (town, Wis.) — Mr. Gurnoe thinks this a corruption of *nikimin* (wild-goose berry), pr. *nee-kee-min. Nika* is goose, and *min* berry. These berries grow along the shores of rivers and lakes, and wild geese feed on them.

Nemadji (Indian name for Left Hand river, Minn.) — It is generally supposed that *nemadji* means left hand, hence the English name of the river, which is to the left as you enter Superior bay through the eastern channel. Thus:

namandji means left: *namandjinik*, left arm; and *namandjinindj*, left hand. But Mr. Gurnoe says *nemadji* comes from *nemadjitigweiag* (a river falling perpendicularly from a considerable elevation).

Noquet, Bay de (bay, Mich.) — From *noke* (bear totem), pr. *no-ka*. Indians lived on its shores, having the bear as their totem.

Oconomowoc (lake and town, Wis.) — Corruption of *okonimawag* (beaver-dam), pr. *o-con-ee-mau-wag*. There were probably several beaver dams in the neighborhood.

Ogema (town, Wis.) — From *ogima* (a chief), pr. *o-gee mau*.

Ogemaw (county, Mich.) — Also from *ogima*.

Okee (town, Wis.) — From *aki* (land), pr. *au-kee*.

Okemos (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *ogemans* (little chief), pr. *o-kee-mauns*.

Omena (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *o minan* (he gives to him), pr. *o-mee-nan*.

Onekama (town, Mich.) — From *onikama* (an arm).

Ontonagon (river, county, and town, Mich.) — Corruption of *nandonagon* (place where game is shot by guess — that is, not by seeing it, but judging of its location from some noise or movement in the brush). An incident of this kind, happening a few times to an Indian, might induce him to give the locality this name. This seems to be the true explanation of the name. In maps of the seventeenth century, it is called *Nantonagan*. Bishop Baraga derives the word from *nind onagan* (my dish), but I think the first explanation, given me by Antoine Gaudin, of Gordon, Wis., a smart half-breed, is the more correct.

Opechee (town, Mich.) — Baraga's orthography is *opitchi* (the American robin).

Ossinike (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *assinike* (he gathers stones).

Ottawa (towns, Minn., Wis., and Ill.) — From the name of the Indian tribe, which is derived from an obsolete word, *adattawag* (trading people). *Atawe*, or *attawe* means, he trades, he sells. In Bishop Baraga's *Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language* (Cincinnati, 1853), p. 332, other derivations are given. I give that of William Whipple Warren,

in his *History of the Ojibways* (Minn. Hist. Coll., v., p. 21). Warren was a very intelligent half-breed Indian, and his interpretation of Indian words is generally reliable.

Outagamie (county, Wis.)—The name given by the Chippewas to their ancient enemies, the Foxes. Baraga's orthography is, *odagamig*, an adverb meaning, people living on the other shore—of a river, or a lake.

Ozaukee (county, Wis.) and **Sauk** (also a Wisconsin county)—Both of them corruptions of *ozagig* (people living at a river mouth), pr. *o-zau-kee.*

Packwaukee (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *bagwaki* (forest opening), pr. *baug-wau-kee.*

Paw Paw (town, Mich.)—Chippewa for papa, or father.

Penokee (range of hills, and town, Wis.)—Corruption of *opinikan* (wild potato ground), pr. *o-pee-nee-kan.*

Pensaukee (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *pindjsagi* (inside the mouth of a river), pr. *pindj-sau-gee.*

Petoskey (town, Mich.)—From *pitoskig* (between two swamps), pr. *pee tos-keeg.* This is Mr. Gurnoe's explanation.

Pewamo (town, Mich.)—From *biwamo* (the trail diverges).

Pewaukee (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *nibiwaki* (swampy), pr. *nee-bee-wau-kee.* The Indians frequently swallow, as it were, the first syllable of a word, so that whites often do not recognize that it has been sounded. So also, the former use *p* and *b*, *k* and *g*, and *t* and *d*, indifferently. This leads to much confusion in attempts at English phonetic spelling of Indian words.

Poygan (lake and town, Wis.)—Vincent Roy, an intelligent Chippewa of Superior, Wis., thinks the word a corruption of *opwagan* (pipe), pr. *op-wau-gan.* Perhaps Lake Poygan may have some resemblance to a pipe, of which the river is, as it were, the stem and the lake the head. Indians are quick to notice such peculiarities.

Poy Sippi (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *Bwan sibi* (Sioux river), pr. *bwaun-see-bee. Bwan* is Chippewa for Sioux, and *sibi* for river.

Puckaway (lake, Wis.)—From *Bokawe* (pr. *bo-kau-wai*), an Indian supposed to have formerly lived on its shores.

Saginaw (bay and town, Mich.) — Corruption of *osaginang* (place where the Sacs used to live). *Osagig* is Chippewa for Sacs.

Saugatuck (town, Mich.) — From *sagatagan* (spunk or punk, used by Indians as tinder), pr. *sau-gau-tau-gan.*

Shawano (lake, county, and town, Wis.) — Baraga's orthography is, *jawanong* (in the south). The French *Chiouanon*, and the English *Shawnee*, were corrupt forms of the same Indian word, meaning southern people.

Sheboygan (county and town, in Wis.; and river, county, and town, in Mich.) — From *jibaigan* (any perforated object, as a pipe stem).

Shiocton (town, Wis.) — Corruption of *ajeatan* (it floats up stream,— by force of wind), pr. *au-shai-au-taun.*

Siskowit (lake, Wis.) — From *siskawit* (very fat lake trout).

Skanee (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *eshkani* (horn river), pr. *ai-shkan-ee.*

Suamico (town), and **Little Suamico** (river, Wis.) — Corruption of *ossawamigong* (place of the yellow beaver).

Tawas (lake, Mich.) — Corruption of Ottawas. Tawas was the name of an Indian chief.

Tekonsha (town, Mich.) — Corruption of *attikonsan* (little caribou, or rein-deer), pr. *at-tik-on-saun. Attik* is reindeer; *attikon* is the diminutive form; *attikonsan* is plural.

Totogatic (river, Wis.) — Means boggy river. *Totogan* is a bog.

Wahjamega (town, Mich.) — Baraga gives the original as *wajamika* (fish-hole, a depression in a lake or river, where fish collect), pr. *wau-jau-mee-ka.*

Waneka (town, Wis.) — Means, he digs a hole.

Waubesa (lake, Wis.) — Corruption of *wabisi* (swan lake), pr. *wau-bee-see.*

Waucedah (town, Mich.) — Perhaps derived from *wassiti*, (it reflects light), pr. *wau-see-dai.*

Waugoshance (island, Mich.) — Means, a small fox.

Waukegan (town, Ill.) — From *waukaigan* (house).

Waukesha (county and town, Wis.) — Corruption of *wagoshag* (foxes), pr. *wah-go-shag.* Either there were many

foxes there, or the Indians of the district had the fox for their totem.

Waunakee (town, Wis.)—Baraga's orthography is *wanaki*, the pronunciation being the same. It means, he has peace, or he lives in peace.

Waupun (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *waban* (east), pr. *wau-ban.*

Wausau (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *wassa* (far away), pr. *waus-sau.*

Wausaukee (river, Wis.)—Corruption of *awassaki* (over, or beyond the hill), from *au-waus-sau-kee.*

Wauwatosa (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *wewatessi* (fire-fly), pr. *wai-wau-tais-see.*

We-que-ton-sing (town, Mich.)—From *wikwedonsing* (at the little bay), pr. *wee-que-don-sing. Wikwed* means bay; *wikwedons* is the diminutive.

Weyauwega (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *ouiawikan* (he embodies it, or makes it his body), pr. *o-wee-au-wee-kan.* Probably some Indian legend is attached to the place, which gave it the name. Menabosho, the great Algonkin demi-god, used to assume different shapes.

Winnebago (lake, Wis.)—Named from the Indian tribe. A corruption of *winnibigoug* (dirty-water people). Winnipeg, in Manitoba, is the same word, modified. In Chippewa, *winnibi* (pr. *wee-nee-bee*), is dirty water.

Winneconne (town, Wis.)—From *winikaning* (a dirty place), pr. *wee-nee-kau-ning.* The syllable *win* refers to any thing unclean. There is a deal of mud on the flats around Winneconne.

Winnibigoshish (lake, Minn.)—Means bad, dirty-water lake. *Win*, is dirty; *nibi*, water; *big* or *bic*, refers to bodies of water; *oshish* is a term of contempt—miserable, bad.

Wisconsin (river and state)—A. Gaudin says it means, muskrat house. But this is doubtful. I have not found two Indians to agree on the meaning of this word.

Wonewoc (town, Wis.)—Corruption of *wonowag* (they howl,—e. g., wolves), pr. *wo-no-waug.*

THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGOES.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MOSES PAQUETTE, BY THE EDITOR.[1]

I was born on the fourth of March, 1828, in the dwelling occupied by my father, Pierre Paquette, near the old agency house,[2] which latter is still standing on the bank of the Fox river at Portage. Besides this dwelling, my father, who was employed by the American Fur Company, had a trading house and barracks for the five or six men whom he then engaged in the business of portaging boats across the almost two miles of marsh which here separate the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Boats coming up the Fox would be beached at a point near the mouth of the present canal.

[1] March 25, 1887, I started from Madison with Moses Paquette, government interpreter for the Wisconsin Winnebagoes, to visit Spoon Decorah and other head men of the tribe in Adams county. Our expedition closed at Portage, March 30. What information I was able to obtain from Paquette, in conversations during our trip, I have formulated into a continuous narrative, following his manner of expression as closely as practicable. The prepared *MS.* I carefully read over to him on the eighteenth of May following at Black River Falls, and made such changes as he suggested. As it is now printed, it received his approval. I found Paquette an earnest, truthful man, and bearing an excellent reputation as such in his community and among the Winnebagoes. To the latter, he is a counsellor and friend, arbitrating their little disputes as far as possible, offering them advice, and acting as their spokesman on many occasions; all of which he does out of pure good nature and at much sacrifice of time and convenience, for the government merely grants him a per diem for attendance on the payment of annuities. He is a familiar figure on the streets of Black River Falls, every Saturday, when he may be seen throughout the day surrounded by groups of Indians who look up to him as an oracle,—and the son of an oracle, for his father, Pierre Paquette, was long a power among the Winnebagoes. His influence among these simple people seems always for the best.— ED.

[2] See diagram of Ft. Winnebago in 1835, *Hist. Columbia Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1881), p. 342, and frontispiece.— ED.

The beach on the Wisconsin river was very near where, at a later period, the Carpenter house was built.[1] The intervening marsh was in those days often a mere quagmire, the transportation of heavily-laden Mackinaw boats across it being a task involving much expenditure of time and patience. It took four and five yoke of oxen to haul one of these craft, which would be slung upon a huge reach cut out of a tree and mounted on broad wheels.[2]

My mother, who was a daughter of Joseph Crelie, was married at Prairie du Chien to one Lupient,[3] before she married my father. By Lupient she had one child, Theodore, who was run over and killed by a railway train in Chicago in 1860. The elder Lupient died soon after the marriage, and his widow became united with my father in Prairie du Chien in 1818. The first fruits of this union were Xavier and Jean Baptiste, who died within a day or two of each other, before my birth. Both of them were buried in the Catholic cemetery at Prairie du Chien. My sister, Thérèse J., was born in Portage in 1826, two years before my birth. In 1864 she married Thomas Prescott, a farmer of Irish birth. The Prescotts now live in the town of Caledonia, Columbia county, on section 28, town 12, range 8 east. I remember my maternal grandfather, Crelie, quite well, but am certain that he was not as old — one hundred and thirty years — as many have made him out to be; in 1845, he told me that he was then eighty years of age, and as he died at Caledonia in 1865,[4] he was by his own showing not over a hundred. As the years went on, having no fixed knowledge of his age, he doubtless innocently fell into the habit, com-

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[1] In 1837. *Hist. Columbia Co.*, p. 588.— Ed.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 371.— Ed.

[3] Probably Theodore Lupin, mentioned as an early settler at Prairie du Chien "before the year 1820." *Hist. Crawford Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1884), p. 281.— Ed.

[4] January 27, 1866. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ix., p. 293, where it is computed that Crelie was about ninety-four years of age at the time of his death. He contended that he was one hundred and thirty, but it is abundantly shown in various volumes of *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, that such was not the case.— Ed.

mon enough with old men in his station of life, of claiming an age that he had never reached. He may have been over a hundred, but certainly not much over that.

In 1834, my father moved from the Fox river to the Wisconsin, locating on the knoll just west of the south end of the bridge, about where the old ferry used to be. I do not think father did any transportation business after his removal, but he erected a trading house, a dwelling, and two or three farm buildings; the trading house and parts of the dwelling are still in existence, having in later years been moved by subsequent owners of the land to locations from a dozen to twenty rods distant, to do duty as farm sheds. L. W. Barden is the present owner of the place where father's establishment was situated.

As a boy, I did not often visit Fort Winnebago, so have but faint recollections of the officers in charge there, although I well remember Captain Gideon Lowe, who was one of the last officers in charge of the government property. He afterwards kept a large and well-patronized tavern, called the Franklin house, on the transportation route, within a few rods northeast of where the Wisconsin Central railway depot now is; a portion of the house is still (1887) standing and occupied as a tenement.[1] The captain was a large, well-built man, of kindly habits and generally popular. The Indians thought a good deal of him. My sister, Mrs. Prescott, says that she remembers as far back as Captain Hooe's time.[2] Hooe married one of Joseph Rolette's daughters, and was more or less interested in the Indian trade.

I remember very well the appearance of the small-pox scourge among the Winnebagoes in 1834, when one quarter of the tribe fell victims.[3] The Indians had never heard of its like before. The medicine men soon abandoned their futile attempts to stay the ravages of the pest, and the survivors simply fled before it like a herd of stricken deer,

[1] *Hist. Columbia Co.*, pp. 355, 588. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vi., p. 406, *note.*— Ed.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 350.— Ed.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, v., p. 264.— Ed.

leaving their dead and dying behind them, unburied. My father was himself obliged to bury a great number of them, as a sanitary necessity. None of our family were afflicted with the disease, for we were vaccinated at the fort by the military surgeon, at the first appearance of the trouble.

My father, as has been amply recorded in history, was killed at Portage, near the Wisconsin river, in October, 1836, by Mauzemoneka (Iron Walker), a son of the Winnebago chief Whirling Thunder, who had at the time a camp on the high land north of the city end of the present Wisconsin river bridge.[1] Pierre Paquette, at the time of his death, was considered a well-to-do man for those times. The Winnebagoes owed him $20,000 for goods which he had furnished them; he had a good deal of live stock, some of it on the farm by the bridge, but the most of it on his farm named Bellefontaine, twelve miles northeast of the fort, on the Green Bay military road; and it has been told me by Laurent Rolette,[2] his clerk, that he had in addition to this, $20,000 in cash, in the safe. He was not only doing a big business in the regular Indian trade, but did most of the supplying of beef and horses to the Winnebago tribe. The Bellefontaine farm[3] was conducted by a Frenchman whom he hired for the purpose, live stock being the specialty. In fact, blackbirds were so numerous in those days that it was quite useless to raise grain. Father used to hire Indian lads by the dozen, and keep them supplied with ammunition for the purpose of killing the feathered pests, which were slaughtered by the thousand each season, but with no apparent diminution of the number.

The administrators of the estate were H. L. Dousman, of Prairie du Chien,[4] and Joseph Paquette, of Green Bay. This Paquette was a farmer, a cousin of my father.[5] Mr.

[1] For contemporary statements of the affair, see *Hist. Columbia Co.*, pp. 499–508.— Ed.

[2] A brother of Joseph Rolette, of Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 371.— Ed.

[4] See *Hist. Crawford Co.*, p. 300, for sketch of his career.— Ed.

[5] Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, wrote me, under date of October 14, 1887: "I knew Joseph Paquette well. When I came here first [1827] he

Dousman was general agent for the American Fur Company, for Prairie du Chien, Portage, and Green Bay.[1] Very soon the company and many private individuals brought in claims against the estate, all of which were allowed, the result being that everything was swallowed up except the bare Bellefontaine farm, the stock from which was driven off to Green Bay, along with the other animals, and there sold to liquidate the debts.

Among the property which was swallowed up in this way were two sections of land which were granted by the treaty of 1832 to my sister and me, near Taycheedah,— part of the land being now included in the present corporation limits of Fond du Lac. We never saw this land. It was granted to us because of my father's relation to the Winnebago tribe, and his services to the government.[2]

In 1829, my father and his two children were granted a section apiece by the government, in town 8, range 8 east, near Madison.[3] My father's section, with some neighboring

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was occupying a small farm of Judge Lawe, under lease, and was then lately married to a Miss Lecuyer. He was an uneducated Frenchman, but quite thrifty and enterprising, and soon acquired a competence by his own unaided labor; and when he died, left a comfortable estate for his children. Pierre Paquette, who was killed at Portage, was a relative (perhaps a cousin) of Joseph, and his estate was administered by him and H. L. Dousman, who represented the creditors of deceased." — Ed.

[1] General Dousman became, in 1834, in company with Joseph Rolette, Sr., one of the copartners of the American Fur Company, with especial charge of the Prairie du Chien agency, which embraced the country north and west of that village, to the British boundary, except the headwaters of the Mississippi and St. Croix. See *Hist. Crawford Co.*, p. 300. — Ed.

[2] Article 10 of the treaty concluded September 15, 1832, between the United States and the Winnebagoes, at Rock Island, says: "At the special request of the Winnebago nation, the United States agree to grant, by patent, in fee simple, to the following named persons, all of whom are Winnebagoes by blood, lands as follows: To Pierre Paquette, three sections; to Pierre Paquette, Junior, one section; to Therese Paquette one section; and to Caroline Haney, one section. The lands to be designated under the direction of the president of the United States, within the country herein ceded by the Winnebago nation." — Ed.

[3] Article 5 of the treaty concluded August 1, 1829, between the United States and the Winnebagoes, at Prairie du Chien, grants "to Pierre Pac-

property that he had purchased, also became involved in the toils in some mysterious way; and although many years afterwards I recovered it in behalf of the family, by litigation conducted at Madison, the property slipped through our fingers through over-confidence in certain persons, and was lost.

Our land at the south end of the Portage bridge was a claim, father having been permitted to settle there by the tribe, he contracting to run a ferry-boat and trading post for their accommodation. After his death, my mother, who became married to a man named Walsworth, formally entered it. There were ninety-three acres in the tract. In May, 1857, Walsworth having died some few years previous, we sold and moved from this place, both because of frequent overflows of the Wisconsin river, and the fear that it would be eaten up in taxes, the tract having become incorporated in the city limits of Portage. We removed our possessions to sections 27 and 28, town 12, range 8 east, where my mother had bought a hundred and sixty acres. She afterwards gave eighty acres of this to my sister Thérèse,— upon which the latter now lives,— and died at her home there on the sixteenth of March, 1864, aged about seventy years.

I have spoken of Rolette, my father's clerk. Our family placed great confidence in him. He had our affairs wholly in his hands to the time the administrators took charge, and, so far as we could find out, he never violated a trust. John de la Ronde was Rolette's predecessor as clerk to my father.[1] I remember him, both as my father's clerk and as he was in after years. He was a wonderful story-teller, and used, I thought, to stretch the long bow about early days at the Portage. He lived on the Baraboo bluffs, where he died several years ago.

Two years after my father's death, when I was ten years

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quette two sections; and to his two children, Thérese and Moses, each one section," of " land located without the mineral country, under the direction of the president."— Ed.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, viii., p. 320. See also, De la Ronde's narrative, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., pp. 345 *et seq.*— Ed.

old, my sister and I were sent by our guardian, H. L. Dousman, for education in English, to the Presbyterian Indian mission on the Yellow river, Iowa,—the "neutral ground" of those days. Rev. David Lowrey was the superintendent.[1] His assistants were two young ladies,—Minerva and Lucy

[1] David Lowrey, D. D., Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, was born in Logan county, Kentucky, January 20, 1796. He was licensed and ordained to the care of Logan presbytery. December 16, 1830, he began the publication, at Princeton, Kentucky, under church auspices, of a weekly journal called *The Religious and Literary Intelligencer*. Some years afterward, he was editor of *The Cumberland Presbyterian*, published at Nashville, Tennessee. During this latter experience, he was also pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, in Nashville; "and for his year's pastoral labor he received, as compensation, the astonishing sum of *one wagon load of corn in the shuck!*" In 1832, he was appointed by his friend, President Jackson, as teacher to the Winnebagoes, arriving at Prairie du Chien in November of that year. By the treaty of Rock Island, September 15, 1832, the government had agreed (Article 4) to "erect a suitable building, or buildings, with a garden and a field attached, somewhere near Fort Crawford, or Prairie du Chien, and establish and maintain therein, for the term of 27 years, a school for the education, including clothing, board, and lodging, of such Winnebago children as may be voluntarily sent to it. The school to be conducted by two or more teachers, male and female, and the said children to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, agriculture, carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing, according to their ages and sexes, and such other branches of useful knowledge as the President of the U. S. may prescribe." The school was to cost not to exceed $3,000 per annum. The commandant at Fort Crawford was to frequently visit and inspect the institution,—so also were the Indian agents of the district, and the governor of Illinois. It was to the charge of this enterprise, which was located on Yellow river, in what is now Fairview township, Allamakee county, Iowa,—the first permanent white settlement in that county,—that Dr. Lowrey was ordered with Colonel Thomas as farmer. The mission building was erected in 1834 and opened in 1835. Dr. Lowrey, however, had previously conducted his educational labors among the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien. In 1840, the mission, still in his charge, was removed to Turkey river, also in Iowa. Dr. Lowrey appears to have been an able and energetic man, but his attempts to convert and educate the Indian children were not very successful, as the narrator points out. In 1848, the tribe were removed to Minnesota, their instructor remaining with them until they were removed to Crook creek, Dakota, in 1863. Lowrey died in Pierre county, Missouri January, 1877, leaving an aged wife, and two sons.—ED.

Brunson, sisters,— who did the teaching, while Mr. Lowrey preached to us and superintended the agency. Minerva, in after years, married one Thomas Linten, who had in early days been employed at the old agency house at the Portage. There were about forty children at the mission, all of us more or less tinctured with Winnebago blood. The English language was alone used, the grade of instruction being about the same as the average rural district school. Of course the religious teaching was wholly of the Presbyterian cast, and the children were very good Presbyterians so long as they remained at the mission; but most of them relapsed into their ancient heathenism as soon as removed from Mr. Lowrey's care. In 1840, the institution was removed to Turkey river, Iowa.

My sister was taken away in 1842, by Mr. Dousman, and placed in the Menard academy, a Catholic convent school, at Kaskaskia, Illinois, in charge of Mother Agnes, sister superior.[1]

In 1845, at the instance of our guardian, I returned to Prairie du Chien, and after a few months spent at that place was sent to a Presbyterian university at Lebanon, Tennessee, about thirty miles east of Nashville, where I remained a little over a year. The climate there not agreeing with me, I being on the sick list fully half my time, I went back to Prairie du Chien in the spring of 1847, thence home. There had been a great flood in Kaskaskia in 1844, and the Menard academy was in consequence removed to St. Louis, whither my sister accompanied it. She returned home in the fall of 1847, having acquired a good education and so thorough a Catholic training that she remains to this day a devout partaker of that communion.

Mr. Dousman having by this time turned over his guardianship of us to Henry M. Rice, afterwards United States senator from Minnesota, and now (1887) a resident of St. Paul, I served some time as a clerk in Mr. Rice's general Indian supply store at Prairie du Chien; but I finally gave this up

[1] Opened in 1836, under the patronage of Pierre Menard, a prominent Illinois pioneer fur-trader.— Ed.

as too confining, and returned home. For several years thereafter, I drifted back and forth, between the home farm and Prairie du Chien, but finally settled down in Portage in 1852.

In 1848 I was employed by Mr. Rice in helping remove the Winnebagoes from Wisconsin. He had a contract to remove them, at so much per head, to Long Prairie, Minnesota, on the Swan river, above St. Cloud; the exact head money I do not remember, but it was a considerable sum.[1] Others employed by Mr. Rice in this service were Theodore Lupient, my half brother, Simon Lecuyer, a relative of Jean Lecuyer, of Portage, and John T. La Ronde. We operated independently of each other. I went, mostly, to the camps on the Lemonweir and around La Crosse, the latter being the point where the Wisconsin Indians were to be rendezvoused preparatory to their shipment to Long Prairie. I traveled alone on horseback. The Indians were

[1] The treaty of October 13, 1846, concluded at Washington, sought to remove the Winnebagoes from the "neutral ground" in Iowa, to a point more remote from the centres of civilization. The movement also sought to include the Wisconsin Winnebagoes, who had not yet removed to Iowa. The Long Prairie location was selected by Henry M. Rice, who obtained it from the Ojibways. June 6, 1848, was the time that the Winnebagoes had agreed to start; but the Indians grew obstinate, wished to remain at the Winona prairie, and threatened trouble. It required shrewd management and some bravery on the part of Mr. Rice and Agent J. E. Fletcher, before the Indians could be induced peaceably to move. The sum of $30,000 was allowed by government to cover the cost of removal. For details, see Neill's *History of Minnesota* (4th edition, 1882), pp. 483–487.

A letter to me from Mr. Rice, dated St. Paul, October 14, 1887, says: "The Winnebago agency and a part of the Indians were removed to Long Prairie in 1848, under the treaty of 1846. Subsequently, straggling bands or parts of bands were removed in 1850. Long Prairie was a good country and had they been properly cared for they would have remained; but for personal motives they were induced to exchange it for a country south of the Minnesota river, which it was well known they would not be permitted to retain,— and the Sioux outbreak (some of their young men having been accused of joining the hostiles) made their removal imperative. Wisconsin was always the region they desired, and it is doubtful if the generation of that day would have ever been content elsewhere."

See also *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, v., pp. 279–282. For account of removal of Winnebagoes from Jefferson county, see *Id.*, x., pp. 430, 431. — Ed.

quite widely scattered,—not in villages, but in small encampments of two or three families each. They had no definite abode, but roved about, following the game and pitching their wigwams wherever night overtook them. Going to the Indians individually, we would ask them to come to La Crosse for shipment; no inducements were offered, but we told them that it would be better to go of their own accord than have the military after them, as the latter would be sure to appear if there was any obstinacy. Generally, they seemed willing to go. I certainly never heard any objections on their part, and the family groups gradually collected, in a peaceable manner, between June and November, at La Crosse. From La Crosse they were shipped by steamer, in parties of five or six families, to St. Paul, where open farm wagons, furnished by Mr. Rice, were provided for the women, children, and goods, the bucks marching behind. By easy stages, the party camping by night, the journey from St. Paul to Long Prairie occupied four or five days. I went up with the last lot, in November, to see how they were situated.

Upon this expedition through the woods, I met several chiefs of considerable note. Kayrahmaunee was one of the most important of them all. He was a large, fine-looking man, with a Roman nose and large features. He was quite above the average in the matter of intelligence. At that time he must have been between seventy and eighty years of age. He died in 1884, near Dexterville, on the Yellow river, in Iowa. His camping place after he returned to Wisconsin was at the head of the Kickapoo river. He and his family cultivated a piece of land there, and were in reasonably prosperous circumstances. He was certainly much respected in the tribe, and exercised considerable power among his people. While styled Kayrahmaunee by the whites, because of his relationship to the old Caramaunee (Walking Turtle), who was beside Tecumseh when the latter fell at the battle of the Thames, the Indian name of this Kickapoo river chief was Maukeektshunxka (Shaking of the Earth).

Old Dandy was among those whom I went after in this expedition. He was perhaps seventy years old at the time, but his appearance did not indicate that age. A small, thin man, of rather insignificant appearance, he was nevertheless the only Winnebago who, since the breaking up of tribal relations in 1848, was generally respected as the chief of the tribe. Old Dandy went to Washington in 1828, in company with old Chachipkaka (War Eagle), Yellow Thunder, and my father, to interview the president. Old Dandy's camp was near the Wisconsin river dells, but we could not find him. He had made up his mind that he would not go to Long Prairie, and had given notice that it was of no use to try and induce him. He finally came in to La Crosse of his own accord, however, and repeated his determination not to go. He was not disturbed.

The Winnebagoes did not like it in Minnesota. For one thing, they were afraid of the Chippewas, who were too near Long Prairie to make it a safe place for a Winnebago. They always preferred the woods and rivers of Wisconsin, where game was plenty and life untrammeled, to existence upon a reservation, where their conduct was circumscribed by set rules, where they had to work too diligently for an existence to suit them, and the hardships were greater than in their old territory. So they soon came back. A good many returned before cold weather set in, as soon as they had got their payment at Long Prairie. I came back to Wisconsin in the early winter, after a short visit, and several of the disgusted Indians were on the steamboat from St. Paul, with me. General J. E. Fletcher, the agent for all the Winnebagoes, was also aboard. It always seemed to me that the removal was unnecessary, and involved useless hardships, as well as curtailed their general fund, for the expenses of transportation were taken out of their payment. The small proportion who remained at Long Prairie were afterwards moved to Blue Earth county,[1] near Mankato, Minnesota; and thence, after a time, up the Mis-

[1] The treaty of February 27, 1855, proclaimed March 23, gave them a tract eighteen miles square, on the Blue Earth river.— ED.

souri river to the Crow and Creek reservations.[1] But the Winnebagoes were dissatisfied with the water, the soil, and the lack of timber, so gained consent again to pull their stakes, this time to be floated down the Missouri to Dakota county, Nebraska, their present reservation.[2] There are at this time some thirteen or fourteen hundred Indians belonging to this reservation, but not all of them are on the government pay-roll, for many are widely scattered, and wandering like gypsies over the face of the country beyond the Mississippi.

After the futile removal to Long Prairie, and the return of the majority of the Winnebagoes to their old haunts in Wisconsin, I obtained a supply of goods from B. W. Brisbois, of Prairie du Chien,[3] and set up as a trader among them, on my own account. I operated near Elroy, on the Lemonweir, on the headwaters of the Baraboo river, and at other places. Other traders in the same region with me, were Nabérer St. Germain,— now (1887) living at Necedah, and not at present in the trade,— who was employed by Miner & Weston of that village; and another man, with headquarters at Mauston, whose name I do not remember.

In early days, the trader would set up a log shanty, or

[1] Because of their general distrust of all Indians, engendered by the Sioux massacre of 1862, the people of Minnesota secured the passage by congress of an act approved February 21, 1863, removing the Sioux and Winnebagoes to Usher's landing, on the Missouri river, in Dakota, where the latter were placed under Superintendent Thompson. For an account of the very great hardships suffered by these people because of this hasty removal, see *Senate Report* No. 156, "Condition of Indian Tribes," 39th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 363. The report says: "No government can permit such injuries [as the Winnebagoes have received] to go unredressed without incurring the penalty of treaties broken and justice violated." See also, *A Century of Dishonor*, by H. H., pp. 229, 393; Mrs. Hunt gives a generally faithful account of Winnebago removals. A good statement is also in *Senate Docs.*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess., Miscel. Doc. No. 136, p. 5.— Ed.

[2] Treaty of March 8, 1865; ratification advised, with amendment, February 13, 1866; amendment accepted, February 20; proclaimed, March 28. This treaty gave them a tract of a hundred and twenty-eight thousand acres in the Omaha reservation, purchased from the Omahas for that purpose. They moved upon this tract in May, 1866.— Ed.

[3] See Brisbois' narrative, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ix., pp. 282 *et seq.*— Ed.

build one of bushes covered with earth, just large enough to spread out his packs and to bunk in. This was always near a water-course, and in the neighborhood of a good hunting ground. Generally these traders were rough as to manners, morals, and intellect; the earliest of them were French, then came the New Yorker or New Englander; while only a few had Indian blood in their veins. Usually they had a quiet enough time with the Indians, about the only trouble likely to arise being over the indignation of their native customers when all the whiskey the latter wanted was refused them. On such occasions, the trader would often suffer mobbing, and the loss of his goods. His stock exhausted by trade, the forest dealer would pack up his furs and go down to Prairie du Chien or Green Bay, and stock up again, either returning to his old shanty or seeking a new field for operations, and perhaps a change of luck.

In my day, I either put up a rude log shanty or rented a building of some settler. From this central warehouse I would start out with a team, visiting the small camps, which flitted about from place to place, following the fortunes of the hunt. When the camps got too far away from my headquarters I would shift my base nearer to theirs. The trade was profitable enough, in the beginning, but both the character of the country and of the Indians began to change. Small towns sprang up, with local dealers handling Indian supplies, which increased the competition. I was obliged, like all Indian traders, to give extensive credit. When one of my customers got deeply in my debt, I found that he would give me the lurch and go and deal with some other man, thus running several accounts at the same time, without paying up any of them. It used to be that every Indian had a sense of honor about the payment of debts, and it was safe enough for the traders to trust him. But the red man soon came to take advantage of sharp competition, readily yielded to the numerous offers of credit which beset him, began to live beyond his means, learned from the whites the trick of defrauding creditors, and acquired an easy indifference to the importunities of those he

owed. They have come to understand, too, that old accounts are outlawed by the white man's law, and by act of congress their government pay is exempt from execution. So it came about that a loose morality about debts sprung up among our Indians, although, of course, there are numerous and notable exceptions. The result of it was that I lost two thousand dollars in the trade, and retiring from it in 1856 went to farming, with my mother, in the town of Caledonia, on the quarter section she had purchased there.

In 1859, I was married at Prairie du Chien, to Madeleine, the widow of Gabriel Brisbois, who was a nephew of B. W. Brisbois. We lived in Caledonia until 1883, when we removed to my present farm in the town of Albion, Jackson county, four miles northwest of Black River Falls, I having taken the position of government interpreter for the Winnebagoes of Wisconsin. We have had seven children, six of whom are living, and three of whom are still at home.

In 1873, there was another attempt to move the Winnebagoes from the state.[1] Capt. Charles A. Hunt, of Melvina, Monroe county, was awarded the contract for removal. There were then about a thousand of the tribe in Wisconsin, scattered quite generally along the water-courses leading into the Wisconsin and the Mississippi south of the Black

[1] In a memorial to congress, March 15, 1870, the Wisconsin legislature represented that "the interests of the residents of the northern and northwestern portions of this state, as well as the interests of the stray bands of Indians therein, imperatively demand that the said stray bands of Indians be removed and located upon a reservation at or near the headwaters of the Eau Plaine river, in the northern portion of the said state." Act of congress, July 15, 1870, appropriated fifteen thousand or fifteen dollars per head for "the removal of stray bands of Pottawotomies and Winnebagoes in Wisconsin to the tribes to which they respectively belong." But as, for various reasons, the act was not carried into effect, a supplementary act of May 29, 1872, appropriated thirty-six thousand dollars for the removal of the Winnebagoes alone. The removal finally took place during the winter of 1873–74. See *Reports of Com. Ind. Affs.* for 1870, 1872–74. One-half of the number removed, returned. The Wisconsin "strays" were of inferior quality to the reservation Indians, and were not welcomed by the latter, who were glad to get rid of them.— Ed.

river and Wausau. Captain Hunt sent out runners among the Indians to give them notice to come into Sparta to be shipped to Nebraska. Among these runners were the late John de la Ronde, of Portage; George Goodvillage, a Winnebago, of Friendship; Joe Monekee, another Winnebago, from the Yellow-river agency, and P. Poole, who was sheriff of Columbia county in 1871–72. Most of the Indians refused to go. They had had enough of reservation life and the miseries of removal, and proposed to stay where they were until they were forced. Thereupon Captain Hunt obtained military assistance. Big Hawk was one of the chiefs among those Winnebagoes who stoutly refused to go, so it was determined to make an example of him. Big Hawk and some twenty-five or thirty others were holding a feast on the Baraboo river, three or four miles southeast of Portage. The military surprised the party, surrounded the camp, took away the arms of the Indians, and ordered them to march into Portage. They refused, whereupon Hunt went around among them and clapped handcuffs upon Big Hawk, who made no resistance. The prisoners were then marched into town, surrounded by the military. It was in December, and the roads none of the best. I saw them marched into Portage and put aboard the cars, amid considerable popular excitement, and shipped on to Sparta.

Some others were afterwards picked up easily enough, on both the Fox and the Wisconsin. As soon as they saw or heard of the troops, they came in peaceably, as a rule; in a few cases, however, the troops surrounded the camps and marched the Indians into the nearest railway towns, whence they were shipped to Sparta. In a good many camps, the troops would find only women and children, the men being off on hunting expeditions. In such cases, the women and children were put into sleighs and carried off; the men, upon their return, finding their wigwams deserted and their families gone, would perforce follow and join them. Much hardship was suffered by all of the Indians; many died on the way, while others expired from exposure, after reaching their destination in Nebraska. The attempt at removal was successful as to several hundred Winnebagoes, but

probably as many more evaded pursuit and remained in Wisconsin. It had been supposed that the congressional act of removal provided that there should be no force used. Certainly the Indians were much surprised and indignant at the appearance of the military.[1] Before the removal, several of the head men went to Indian Commissioner Edward P. Smith and pleaded for protection for their people, but they did not get it. The Indians had committed no depredations, they were in nobody's way, and all of us who were friendly to them considered the removal as unjust. There came to be much popular indignation over the manner in which this futile attempt was carried out, and since that day there has been no serious attempt to disturb the Wisconsin Winnebagoes, who have so per-

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[1] Instructions for military assistance to Charles A. Hunt, who represented the bureau of Indian affairs, were issued by the general of the army (*Report Secy. of War*, 1874, p. 38). Company C, 20th infantry, and a detail from Company H, were ordered December 12, 1873, under command of Lieutenant Joseph S. Stafford, to proceed from Fort Snelling to Sparta. They arrived there by train, December 17, and were quartered in the skating-park building. From Sparta, detachments were sent out to Portage and Leroy, when needed, and to places in Iowa. Friday, December 18, Stafford, with twenty men, accompanied Agent Hunt, and captured eighty-six Winnebagoes, including Big Hawk, "on the Baraboo river, near the Crawford bridge."—(*Portage Register*, December 27, 1873.) They were lodged in Sparta over Sunday, and at 11 A. M. of Monday, December 22, left by train for Nebraska, in charge of Sheriff David Bon and six citizens. On the 23d of December, seventy-three Indians were captured near Leroy station; two days later, fifty-six in Trempealeau county; and on the 27th, Mr. Cash, of New Lisbon, headed a party of soldiers who captured thirty eight near Reedsburg.—See *Sparta Herald* during December, 1873.

H. W. Lee, of Stevens Point, interested himself in seeking to obtain writs of habeas corpus for the imprisoned Indians, but in vain. See his letter copied from *Chicago Times*, in *Sparta Herald*, December 30, 1873. The United States attorney-general gave it as his opinion, June 17, 1873, that "no authority is given in any of the acts of congress, providing funds for the removal of said Indians, to employ force against the will of said Indians." On the 19th of January, 1874, the object for which the troops were detailed having been accomplished, they were ordered by Brigadier General A. H. Terry, division commander, to return to Fort Snelling.—Ed.

sistently clung to their native woods and streams, despite the advance of civilization around them.

There are about fifteen hundred Winnebagoes now living in Wisconsin. Some fourteen hundred are now on the pay-roll. By act of congress, January 18, 1881, it was provided that there should be a census taken of both those in Nebraska and those in Wisconsin. All those in Wisconsin before that date were to be enrolled in this state, and those then in Nebraska were to be enrolled there.[1] The result was that those who returned from Nebraska to Wisconsin after that date,—and one or two hundred have done so,—are not entitled to enrollment here; hence cannot, except by misrepresentation, get government pay. This is the penalty for making a change of residence, although I believe that any Wisconsin Winnebago who should care to go to Nebraska would find no difficulty in getting himself removed from the Wisconsin roll to the Nebraska. But this is not likely, for they do not enjoy life on the reservation, the universal complaint there being that they cannot earn enough from the land to support themselves, and that the government payment is too small to do any good; while the government officers and interpreters there

[1] Section 15, act of congress approved March 3, 1875, provided that any Indian who was head of a family and twenty-one years old, and had abandoned tribal relations, should be entitled to the benefits of the homestead act of May 20, 1862. Such Indian homestead is declared not subject to encumbrance or alienation, and any such Indian homesteader is entitled to his share of tribal annuities, funds, lands, and other property, the same as though he had maintained tribal relations. Under this act, a great many Wisconsin Winnebagoes took up claims of forty acres each. Act of congress approved January 18, 1881, directed the secretary of the interior to have separate censuses taken of the Winnebagoes in Wisconsin and Nebraska, and adjust the accounts between the two bands. Under the act of June 25, 1864, a fund amounting to $96,689.93 had accumulated in the United States treasury to the credit of the Wisconsin band; besides much that was due them out of sums already paid to the Nebraska band. The act of 1881 sought to secure the pro rata payment of interest on the fund due the former, but only to those heads who had taken up homesteads or who should promise to spend the money in at once taking up and improving land.—Ed.

have favorites among the head men, and the average Indian gets no justice done him. Of course very much of this complaint is ill-based. The Indian does not stop to reason, but jumps at conclusions. The man who is on the Wisconsin roll considers himself fortunate, for here he has a free and easy roving life, without reservation restrictions; and he gets a cash payment from the government, whereas on the reservation it comes in the guise of tools and supplies — for the former of which he is not over desirous.

I helped take the Winnebago census in 1881, the bureau agent being Louis Morel, U. S. A. We were stationed in succession at Black River Falls, Trempealeau, La Crosse, Portage, Menasha, Stevens Point, Friendship, Madison, Baraboo, Remington, back again to La Crosse, and completed our task at Blue River, near Boscobel. Our habit was to send out runners among the Indians and invite them to come in wherever our office was established. Mr. Morel being taken sick, his clerk and I were alone in many places. About eight hundred came in readily enough, but there were some two hundred and fifty, chiefly belonging to Big Hawk's band, at Pike lake, who refused to be counted.

It seems that H. W. Lee, a Stevens Point lawyer, asserted that the Winnebagoes owed him ten thousand dollars as attorney fees. He set up the claim that during the eight years previous to 1881 he had been of great service to the tribe and had gone to Washington several times in their behalf; that, in fact, he was the cause of getting the act of March 3, 1873, passed for the relief of the Winnebagoes. This act provided for regular annual payments, although they did not, for various reasons, commence until ten years later. Lee persuaded Big Hawk and his followers to refuse enrollment until a promise should be extracted from the government that he (Lee) should be reimbursed out of the payments which were to succeed the taking of the census. Few of the Indians outside of this particular band endorsed the claim, believing that Lee had already been sufficiently compensated.

As so many refused enrollment, the attempt at census-tak-

ing in 1881 was a failure. In 1883[1] it was repeated, and this time with success. Maj. Walter F. Halleck, U. S. A., of Michigan, was appointed to complete the Winnebago census. He came to the state, and Anthony Grignon officiated as his interpreter. The roll was now made up to something over eleven hundred, and in November Major Halleck made the first payments to the Wisconsin Winnebagoes, at Black River Falls and Stevens Point, my services now being employed as interpreter, in which capacity I have since served the government, at the three payment places of Black River Falls, Tomah, and Hatley. The money had been accumulating since 1873, so there was now some forty thousand dollars to distribute among the Indians who were on the roll. Big Hawk's people refused their money at the Stevens Point payment, and indeed they have ever since declined to have anything to do with it, and all on account of Lee's claim, which they honestly believe to be a just one. But the band has fast decreased in numbers, as the temptation of the accumulating money becomes stronger, and the influence of the payment Indians — who think Big Hawk a foolish man — predominates. There are now left of his party but twenty-five or thirty persons,— Big Hawk himself, and some of the Snake family. Some of this band, who have come in lately, have received as high as nine hundred dollars per head, and one of those who still hangs out (Two Crows) would get twelve hundred and twenty dollars if he would but consent to draw it. Whatever may be said of Lee's claim, it certainly indicates a strong sense of personal honor in Big Hawk and his companions, that, sincerely believing in the demand, they are willing to sacrifice so much for a nice question of moral principle.

Big Hawk is about sixty years of age. He is a descendant of the famous chief Kayrahmaunee (Walking Turtle). He is a young-looking, finely-formed Indian, some five feet ten inches in height, with small moustaches; he is sober, of

[1] Act approved March 3, 1883, appropriated $2,500 to complete the census.— Ed.

good habits, and with a high sense of honor, and by those who stand by him is looked up to with much admiration. He has a regulation homestead of forty acres on Pike lake, in Marathon county, a portion of which he cultivates, eking out an existence by hunting. During the removal of 1873, Captain Hunt took Big Hawk in shackles to Nebraska, because the chief declined to go unless forced. But the other members of his band made up a purse and soon brought him back to Pike lake. He is a good, peaceable man, but I am afraid will never get his accumulated bounty; for I am sure that he will remain loyal to the supposed interests of his friend Lee, and the latter seems not at all likely to ever have his claim allowed.[1]

Although but few over eleven hundred were on the roll by November, 1883, the number enrolled at each succeeding annual payment has gradually increased, until in February, 1887, the number was about fourteen hundred. This addition was partly due from the appearance of some who had been in hiding during the census-taking of 1881 and 1883, from fear of removal; partly from the steady increase, each year, in the number of births over the deaths, and partly from Nebraska runaways, a few of whom manage to get on the rolls through misrepresentation. There are probably about one hundred more who either cannot get on the roll, or who, like Big Hawk's band, do not wish to.

The act of congress providing for payments to the Wisconsin Winnebagoes specified that each householder must take up a homestead of at least forty acres, build a house upon it with his own means, and otherwise improve it. There being no one to look after the matter and properly enforce the law, the result has been a somewhat hap-

[1] Big Hawk called on me in 1890, and he and his son Jasper were photographed for the Society's collection of portraits of typical Wisconsin Indians. Paquette's description of the old man is just. He proved a courteous and intelligent visitor, and has no appearance of having been physically or morally injured by contact with the whites. Jasper, a young man of some twenty-four years, told me with much pride that he was sending his children to a district school, and believed thoroughly in white men's civilization.— Ed.

hazard allotment of land. Some of the Indians made intelligent selections; while others would blindly put a finger down anywhere on a surveyor's chart, that would be placed before them, quite regardless of where the property was, so long as the duty of selection was performed, and the annuity secured. At the payments, we can be assured that the Indian has his homestead, but whether he has a house upon, or has otherwise improved it, there is no way of knowing except by general report. The result is that but a half or two-thirds of them have buildings upon their places, while the majority of the rest have probably never even seen their landed possessions; many, indeed, who have gone to hunt them up, have found that they were located in swamps or on barren hill-sides. The Winnebago homesteads, mainly forty acres each, are chiefly in Jackson, Adams, Marathon, and Shawano counties, the bulk of them being in Jackson county; the soil is especially poor in Adams, and quite light in Jackson.

None of the Indian homesteaders are even fair farmers. But even a white man could not make a living on many of their small patches of sand. I presume that they chose these rather forbidding sections because they were in the neighborhood of their old hunting grounds, and because of the blueberries, which, in Jackson especially, are an important crop. The berries grow chiefly on the highlands, and the Indians are the principal garnerers. The fruit begins to ripen about the last of July, and the picking holds out until the last of August, keeping the bulk of the Indians of both sexes quite busy, and bringing them in a respectable income while it lasts. Leaving their homes, they camp in wigwams and in canvas tents upon the picking grounds. A first-rate picker, in a good season, can gather by hand from a bushel to a bushel and a half in a day; while some, who have rakes adapted to the purpose, can do very much better than this. The berries are poured into narrow boxes holding a bushel each, and one can be strapped on each side of a pony. Leaving the women and children to do the gathering, the bucks start early in the morning with the harvest of the day before and ride into the nearest town,—

Black RiverFalls is the principal market,— where the product is picked up by the buyers, who place the berries in shallow trays for shipment by express to the various centres of demand. The Indians sometimes get as high as three dollars a bushel at the commencement of the season, when the fruit is scarce, the price dwindling down to seventy-five cents at the flush of the supply. This of course is quite a fortune for the Indians so long as it lasts, but first-rate crops are two years apart.

After the blueberry crop is over, the Winnebagoes have before them the cranberry harvest. They are hired as pickers by the owners of the marshes, being paid from fifty to seventy-five cents per bushel.

In the winter comes the annuity payment, at Black River Falls, Tomah, and Hatley, the heads of families coming in to whichever point is the most convenient of access. Black River Falls is the chief rallying point. As the Indians generally ride free on the railroads, despite the inter-state commerce law, and time being counted as worthless, they are not usually particular about the distance they have to travel. At the payment made in February, 1887, the annuity consisted of nineteen dollars and forty cents for each person—a considerable sum for the largest families. The inducement to have a numerous progeny is powerful, and the Indians take advantage of the premium thus placed by the government on child-bearing. Between the payments of 1886 and 1887, there were fifty-six births reported, as against about thirty deaths. The annuity, however, makes the Indians dependent, shiftless creatures, being a premium on pauperism, and many of them are beginning to complain that they do not get on as well as they did without aid. Indeed, the payment is a decided evil to the poor fellows; it makes them an object of interest to rapacious traders, who follow them about at payment time, a lot of sharks, plying them with liquor, doubling their claims against them, and not content until the last dollar is gone; many a man gets home to his large family, having drank, squandered, or gambled, or been duped out of, every cent the government gave him. Some of the sights behind the

scenes, at an Indian payment, are enough to make one's heart bleed for the poor wretches who are too simple to take care of themselves, and need a firm, wise friend as badly as any lot of foolish boys ever did.

I have said that the Wisconsin Winnebagoes were none of them even fair farmers. They are a race of hunters. Even where they have houses upon their little reservations, few of the habitations are regularly used. The Indians prefer the wigwams which adorn every door-yard; especially is this the case in summer, when the house is scarcely used at all. But the most of them are seldom at home. In the spring they scratch up the ground a little with hoes — very few of them use plows — plant their corn in a crude fashion, and then go off into the woods, hunting and fishing, until time to hoe the crop. This task over, they go off until gathering time, and then are away for the most of the winter until spring again. Here and there is a family that has come to believe it is better to stay at home in winter, and enjoy the comforts there, than to go tramping off through the woods, with imminent danger of contracting rheumatism and deadly colds. But such philosophers are few.

The winter's hunt usually commences early in October and is kept up till the first of May. The families start out, sometimes independently and sometimes in parties of five or six lodges, following the game hither and thither. Sometimes there is established a large camp,— say from half a dozen to ten families,— from which hunting parties are sent out in different directions to beat the neighborhood for game. These parties will be gone for a week or so, and bring back their meat and skins. They are quite industrious in their hunting habits, and are fully as successful as good white hunters would be under similar conditions. In old days, when game was more plenty, an Indian would ordinarily get the equivalent of at least one hundred dollars for the product of his winter's hunt; but now the season usually nets him between fifty and seventy-five dollars. There is one source of income that the Indian hunters now have, that was unknown of old.

Venison can always be sold at the nearest railway station for seven or eight cents per pound for the saddle, — the only part that they sell, as a rule, for they live on the rest. A good hunter can kill four or five deer per day, when game is plenty.

They do not take many black bears now-a-days. The beavers, too, are nearly all gone, though otters and mink are quite plenty, and there are a good many fishers, although the latter are chiefly in the northern part of the state, on the hunting grounds of the Chippewas. The Chippewas come down as far south as the Chippewa river, to hunt. The two tribes do not entrench on each other's territory very much, and troubles between them are unknown, even when they meet on the same hunting ground. Around Wausau, the Chippewas, Menomonees, Pottawattomies, and Winnebagoes mingle freely and intermarry.

The Winnebagoes enjoy company. They are companionable. Their motto is, "The more the merrier," and they will sacrifice a good deal for pleasure. The days pass with them in hunting, gossiping, gambling, and listless loafing. Some of them are inveterate talkers, and they are often confirmed practical jokers. Very few of the tribe are quarrelsome, except when in liquor. There is no social grading among them; a pure democracy exists; the days of the chieftancy are over, as the Wisconsin Winnebagoes no longer entertain tribal relations; and while there is naturally much respect entertained for the descendants of former chiefs and for those who are by nature leaders, each Indian boasts himself quite the equal of the best man among them. The result of this free-and-easy independence is, that the vicious and the dissolute of either sex are hail-fellows-well-met in any camp, whatever opinions may be entertained of them in private, by their companions.

In January, during the hunt, there are numerous formal feasts. A head man of a family will send out indiscriminate invitations to all the Winnebagoes in the neighborhood to come to a free-for-all feast at his lodge. He will then call upon others of his family to collect venison and bear-meat for the occasion. This duty generally falls on the nephews,

for it is a singular custom among them that the nephew is a sort of slave to the uncle and owes him far stricter obedience than he does his own father. The uncle who calls on his nephew to perform a certain act or do a certain errand expects the young man to do it at whatever risk of limb or wind. But the nephew has some privileges in return. He has but to make a present to his uncle and lay his hand on whatever belongs to the latter that he may be wanting,--a fine horse, or a new gun, for instance,—and say, "You've had this long enough; now I'll take care of it," and the thing he claims is his, without further ado. But to return to the feast. All the way from fifty to one hundred often gather at these meetings. Usually commencing at twilight, they continue all night; eating, dancing, singing and story-telling being the order of exercises. Probably the most popular of their dances is the buffalo dance. They represent themselves to be bisons, imitating the legitimate motions and noises of that animal, and introducing a great many others that would quite astonish the oldest buffalo in existence. Of course it has been a long time since any Winnebagoes ever saw buffaloes; their antics are purely traditionary, handed down from former generations of dancers. Once in a while, on such occasions, there will be some fire-water introduced by one or two reckless young scamps, but ordinarily these feasts are not drunken orgies.

After the hunting season, the Indians usually go directly home, selling their furs to the nearest trader, after they get there; unless there should chance to be a trader near the hunting grounds, when they dispose of their goods to him in order to lighten their load.

As among nearly, if not quite, all the tribes of American aborigines, a secret society exists among the Winnebagoes.[1] The only name I ever heard it called is "Medicine." So far as I have been able to learn, the chief theoretical object of the fraternity is, to keep the virtues of medicinal herbs and the details of medical practice generally, as secrets

[1] Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851–57), iii., p. 286.— ED.

among a chosen few, and hand them down from one generation to another. Medical practice among the Indians,[1]— and when I speak of Indians I must be understood as referring to the Winnebagoes, with whose customs and language I am alone familiar,— is very crude, yet in certain classes of cases it seems to be sufficient. In the treatment of wounds and chronic sores, the Indian medicine men are more successful, so far as my observation goes, than the average white surgeons. In such cases, they dress the wounds very carefully, and apply poultices of herbs. In cases of sickness, peculiar concoctions of herbs and roots are used, with sweats and rubbings. Of course this is accompanied by mystic ceremonials and incantations, which I imagine are chiefly thrown in for effect; I do not think the medicine men themselves believe in them. When a medicine man is needed, it is customary to tender him a present in advance, as a sort of retaining fee. Indeed, many will not respond to a call without such fee. If, in due course of time, the patient dies on the medicine man's hands, or is thought by the family to be unimproved, the latter is discharged and is expected to give back all of the fees he has received up to date. A new man is then patronized, on the same terms — "No cure, no pay."

The secret society is conducted by these medicine men. Fully one-half of the tribe — men and women, and youths of both sexes — belong; possibly a majority of them do. When a person wishes to join, and is accepted by the fraternity, he must accumulate a heap of goods as an initiation fee. Before the government payments, it sometimes took years to make this accumulation; but since the inauguration of the payments, money is somewhat easier among them. Indeed, the demands of the society swallow up no small portion of the government annuity. These initiation fees are given to the head medicine man of the neighborhood, who is supposed to divide them among the fraternity, but it is a matter of general notoriety that he keeps the lion's share. The medicine meetings[2] are usually

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 497.— Ed.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 286.—Ed.

held just after the return home from the payment. Sometimes one novice is initiated at once, sometimes two or three. The meeting will ordinarily last all day and sometimes through the succeeding night, for time is no object to the Indian. The meeting is held in a long lodge, especially erected for the purpose, and is open to all comers. There is a great deal of mystification, in the way of secret whisperings from ear to ear, and seemingly nonsensical ceremonial, interspersed with long and tiresome harangues about the traditions of the tribe and its spirit mythology. In the midst of all this, and without interrupting the performance in the lodge, the candidate is led off into the bushes by two or three "big" medicine men. What transpires there, I do not know but the candidate always comes back, after about ten minute's absence, pale with fright and much exhausted. He is given a medicine bag, consisting of the dried skin of an otter or beaver, with the head and tail preserved, made into the form of a pouch. There is more talking, dancing, whispering, and jerky movements, and the novice is then declared a full-fledged medicine man. As a matter of fact, however, very few among them ever practice. The instruction is altogether too brief to be of service. Usually only persons well on in years take upon themselves the office and title of medicine men — and but few of those, for the position is not very lucrative. Belonging to the secret society, of itself, merely gives them the right to practice. Occasionally an Indian doctor gets employment among the whites. For instance, a Winnebago woman has just now a fair practice in Black River Falls; and "Doc" Decorah, of Adams county, — nephew of Spoon Decorah, — had, some years back, a good run of patronage in Reedsburg. But the Indian practitioners complain that many of the whites are not the best of pay, and, while pleased to boast of their white patronage, are generally less anxious to respond to such calls than to those of their own race.

I have spoken of gambling among the Indians. It is their commonest vice. The moccasin game is the chief one. It somewhat resembles three-card-monte, except that

I do not think there is any cheating about it. The players squat on the ground in two groups, facing each other; any number may be on a side,—one or a dozen,—and the sides need not be equal in numbers. On the ground between the two groups, four moccasins are placed in a row. The leader of the side that has the "deal," so to speak, takes a small bead in his right hand and deftly slides the hand under each moccasin in turn, pretending to leave the bead under each one of them; he finally does leave the bead under one, and the leader of the opposition side, watching him closely, is to guess which moccasin covers the bead. The opposition leader then takes a slender stick and lifts up and throws off the three moccasins under which he thinks nothing has been left, leaving the one under which he guesses the bead has been left. Should the bead be discovered under one of the three which he throws off, then he loses four points for his side; should he be correct in his guess, and the bead found under the one moccasin left, he gains four for his side. Ten small twigs or chips are conveniently at hand, and as each side wins at a play, the leader takes four from the pile. When the ten are all taken, by either or both sides, the game is ended, the side having the most sticks being the winner. Usually five such games are played, the side getting the greater number taking the stakes, which are commonly goods—although once in a while they gamble for money.

The vigorous game of la crosse—now-a-days familiar to patrons of state and county fairs of this section, at which professional bands of Chippewas exhibit their skill—was in earlier days much played by the Winnebagoes. It was usually played at La Crosse,—Prairie la Crosse deriving its name from this fact,—during the general rendezvous after the winter's hunt. The Winnebagoes having always clung to the water-courses and heavy timber, during their winter's trapping and hunting, would float down the rivers to La Crosse, and there have their feasts and la crosse games, meet the traders and indulge in a big spree. Occasionally they played la crosse in their villages, but this was not common. It was considered to be more

especially a spring festival game. I never hear, now-a-days, of the Wisconsin Winnebagoes playing it, and in fact I never saw it in this state, but when I was at the mission on Turkey river, I frequently saw the Indians there indulge in it. It is needless to add, I presume, that these games were always for heavy stakes in goods; you will seldom get an Indian to play "for fun."

Among the Winnebagoes, the institution of the family is held in high regard, and relations are very tenacious of each other's rights.[1] No marriage ceremony is known. Presents to the parents of a woman, by either the parents of the man or the man himself, if accepted, usually secure her for a partner. However much the woman may dislike the man, she considers it her bounden duty to go and at least try to live with him. Divorce is easy among them. There are no laws compelling them to live together. Sometimes there are marriages for a specified time, say a few months or a year. When separations occur, the woman usually takes the children with her to the home of her parents. But so long as the union exists, it is deemed to be sacred, and there are very few instances of infidelity. I think that, considering the lack of all marriage law among them, these Indians make a better showing of marital fidelity and constancy than would be exhibited in the average white community. Quite a number of the bucks have two wives, who live on apparently equal, free-and-easy terms; but although there is no rule about the matter, I never heard of any of the men having more than two wives. With all this ease of divorce, numerous Indian couples remain true to each other for life. For instance, old Kayrahmaunee, whom I knew, had never but the one wife with whom he always lived. On the other hand, I could mention Doc Decorah, who is living with his tenth wife, but he has had her since 1873 and they appear to agree very well. The young, unmarried women of to-day are, as a result of white influence, not as strict in their behavior as was the rule in earlier days.

[1] *Id.*, ii., p. 48.— ED.

The Winnebagoes are by no means the worst Indians in the state. In some respects they are the best. Socially they are more moral than most of the others; they are good-hearted, have always been friendly to American interests,—the Red Bird affair in 1827 was in no sense a tribal outbreak,—they are extremely tractable, injure no one's legitimate interests, and mind their own business; the remarkable pertinacity with which they have clung to the Wisconsin streams and forests, despite numerous attempted removals, argues a degree of patriotism for their native state, to which no white Badger, who entertains any pride of birthplace, should object. Could they but have a government agent settled amongst them, as was recommended to congress by the commissioner of Indian affairs in 1886, their condition might be materially bettered. The homestead improvement law should be enforced; they should be instructed in better agricultural methods than they have thus far adopted; they should be taught that a nomadic life is not in the end as profitable as staying at home and carrying on legitimate farming; they should be forced to send their children to the district schools, where the white teachers and pupils are willing and anxious to receive them, and where the few young aborigines who have thus far attended have made encouraging progress; in short, these people are like a pack of children, who need a patient instructor and friend; they are willing enough to advance, if continually urged to the task, in season and out of season. Agents who have the necessary qualifications, and who are above collusion with tricky traders, are unfortunately rare, as the history of our Indian agencies too well shows; but it is not impossible to get such a man for the Wisconsin Winnebagoes. Given a practical guide of this sort, these people would, I am sure, make speedy and substantial advancement.

In the course of my life-long experience with the Winnebagoes, I have met many chiefs whose names are prominently connected with the history of the tribe. Among these was Yellow Thunder. He was forcibly removed to Iowa, with Black Wolf, but was soon allowed to return to

Wisconsin because he was a land-owner. When I knew him, he lived on a forty-acre patch that he had bought from the government, some sixteen miles above Portage, on the Wisconsin river. He died in the fifties. He was a fine-looking Indian, tall, straight, and stately, but had an overweening love for fire-water,— his only vice. He died well advanced in age, but I think never had any children.[1] It is seldom you see a childless lodge among the Winnebagoes; large families are the rule. I remember that in 1883, Green Grass, a son of the famous Kayrahmaunee, came to the payment at Black River Falls and wanted to draw for fifteen children, but he was unable to either count or name them all; so Major Halleck, the agent, told him to bring his family in and stand them in a row, so that we could count them for ourselves and ask each one his name. Green Grass soon returned with his brood, and stood them in a double row across the room. There was the full number certified, and the incident occasioned much hilarity among both Indians and officials.

The oldest Wisconsin Winnebago now living (1887) is Little Decorah, who has a place near Millston, Jackson county.[2] He is the oldest son of the late Grey-headed Decorah. I suppose that Little Decorah must be about one hundred years of age. I remember that he seemed to me an old man as far back as 1836. He is now a childish, helpless

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[1] An oil portrait of Yellow Thunder may be seen in the portrait gallery of the Society. References to most of these chiefs mentioned by the narrator may be found in the earlier volumes of *Wis. Hist. Coll.* But in tracing the careers of Indian chiefs, much discrimination must be exercised on account of the conflict of names. Often a half-dozen Indians of the same family bore nearly identical names among the whites, who did not care to discriminate; while the official interpreters were generally careless in this matter. The Indians, in a spirit of courtesy, would often adopt the fanciful names given to them by their white neighbors. In interviewing old Winnebagoes, I have, more than once, been wholly unable to make known to my would-be informants what particular chief I meant to inquire after,— their name for him, and that set down in the records, being wholly at variance.— ED.

[2] Little Decorah died near Tomah, at Blue Wing's settlement, a few days after the above interview, about April 1, 1887.— ED.

wreck. Spoon Decorah, of Adams county, a cousin of this man, is the oldest of the tribe in this state, whose faculties are well preserved;[1] although Four Deer, also of Adams county, is accounted to be nearly as old. Each of them claims to be upwards of ninety years, but they are probably much younger than that. Black Hawk, who has a homestead four miles northeast of Black River Falls, in the town of Albion, Jackson county, claims to be seventy, probably an exaggeration of ten years. He is a large, imposing fellow, of good habits, and a good reputation among the whites. He has two wives, and although he has lost several children he still has nearly a dozen left. This Black Hawk is a distant relative of a Winnebago warrior named Black Hawk, who claimed to have discovered the celebrated Sac chief of the same name, when the latter was a fugitive after the battle of Bad Axe, in August, 1832. It is related by the descendants of the Winnebago Black Hawk of that day, that One-eyed Decorah (Big Canoe) had a village at the mouth of the Black river, and every day various hunting parties would go out into the neighborhood after game.[2] The Winnebago Black Hawk was out one day, when he came across the Sac fugitive, and immediately returned to camp and notified his companions. There was a council as to who should go and take the Sac, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien having given general instructions to all Winnebagoes to bring in the runaway. Winnebago Black Hawk declined to go himself, as he claimed to entertain a superstitious notion that he was not "called" by the Great Spirit to do that kind of work.

[1] Spoon Decorah died October 13, 1887, near Necedah, at the probable age of eighty-four. I interviewed him the March preceding, in company with Moses Paquette, and the venerable savage paid me a return call in Madison during the intervening summer, in company with Four Deer, Doctor Decorah, and a half-breed interpreter from Portage. Spoon was a fine specimen of his race, physically and mentally. Four Deer is the orator of his tribe, and has a somewhat stately appearance. Doctor Decorah is the head medicine man, has a comical physiognomy, and is much of a wit.— ED.

[2] Some say that this village was on the La Crosse river, near where Salem now is.— PAQUETTE.

So One-eyed Decorah took the task upon himself, went and found the Sac leader, and took him into Prairie du Chien.[1] I knew One-eyed Decorah, when I was a boy at school, on Turkey river. He was an old man then; quite stout and hale, with heavy features, and hair somewhat sprinkled with gray.

Young Winneschick is now living on the Black river, seven miles above Black River Falls. He is about sixty years old, and a good Indian; he is the head man in Jackson county, being a descendant of the famous Winneschick. He has but one wife and no children. He returned from the reservation to his native state in 1872 or 1873, and is now doing fairly well on his little purchased farm of forty acres, his homestead being some four or five miles away. Cultivating his land with reasonable display of energy, he is regarded by the whites as a progressive Indian, and has a good reputation among them.[2]

White Pawnee (Pania Blanc), a son of the one-eyed chief White Crow,[3] accompanied my father as guide during the Black Hawk war. He died in 1837, in a drunken fracas with a white man named Abraham Wood. The affair took place in a whiskey shop near where the Carpenter house was afterwards located, — the neighborhood of the Wisconsin-river end of the old transportation route at the Portage. The Pawnee was buried in a large conical mound some five or six feet high, at what is now the city end of the Wisconsin-river bridge — just across the river from where our house was afterwards located. These ancient earthworks were frequently selected as burial places by the Indians, because of their prominence in the landscape. I never heard the Winnebagoes talk about the origin of these mounds. I presume that they have always taken them to be of natural formation. Their name for them is "hchi-a-shoke," which simply means, "a small rising of ground." This particular mound

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[1] See *ante*, p. 261, *note*.— ED.

[2] Young Winneschick died about May 20, 1887.— ED.

[3] See *ante*, p. 245, *note*.— ED.

has lately been graded down, in street improvements, but whether the Pawnee's bones were found in it or not I do not know.

Little Hill used to camp on the knoll at the country end of the Wisconsin-river bridge at Portage,—about where our house was subsequently built. In a fire-water row there, in 1837 or 1838, he murdered another Indian, whereupon he fled to the west of the Mississippi to escape vengeance. I afterward frequently met him at the Yellow river agency. He was a short, thick-set man. He afterwards became a very good Indian, and old Mr. Lowrey made a chief of him as a reward of merit.[1] Little Hill died a good many years ago.

I want to close my narrative with an account of the condition of the grave of my father, Pierre Paquette.[2] His remains were originally buried under the Catholic chapel which had been built by him on what is now known as Conant street, near the northeast corner of Adams. The land then belonged to the government, but afterwards a strip of territory was granted to Lecuyer, across the marsh, along the transportation route, and it included this place. Webb & Bronson[3] succeeded to the possession of the Lecuyer claim. The little chapel was afterward burned down, and a wooden railing was placed around the grave, to mark the spot. A wooden cross, unpainted and uninscribed, was the only monument. In 1857[4] the remains were removed and placed under the rear doorway of the new church, built on the old site; but there was nothing ever put up to mark the grave, nothing to show to the world that under the door-sill my father lay.

In 1859 or 1860[5] the church authorities purchased the old Baptist church lot, in another part of the city, and aban-

[1] Shogonikkaw (Little Hill) furnished Agent Jonathan E. Fletcher with some Winnebago myths, to be found in *Schoolcraft*, iv., p. 228; see also *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, v., p. 309.—Ed.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, viii., p. 319; *Hist. Columbia Co.*, p. 626.—Ed.

[3] *Hist. Columbia Co.*, p. 591.—Ed.

[4] *Ibid.* says 1852.—Ed.

[5] October 29, 1859.—Ed.

doned their building on the northeast corner of Adams and Conant streets. They sold the old church lot, but the remains of Pierre Paquette are still where they were. The old building has been removed, and no one can tell exactly where the grave is, except that it is in a dingy alleyway, over which teams travel daily. Two years ago, the church people made a meagre attempt to find the bones, but the workmen never went low enough or far enough, and the search has not been pushed.

I submit that this treatment of Pierre Paquette's bones by the successors of those for whom he erected the first mission chapel at the Portage is ungenerous.[1]

[1] In March, 1887, I visited the site of Pierre Paquette's grave, in company with the narrator. An old settler, who was present, agreed with the narrator as to the general location, both estimating that they could fix the locality within a radius of a dozen feet. In regard to the merit of the narrator's protest, I know nothing.—ED.

MISSIONS ON CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

BY JOHN NELSON DAVIDSON, A. M.[1]

If Radisson and Groseilliers, the discoverers in 1659 of the Upper Mississippi,[2] were not also the first white men who saw Lake Superior, they were the first who have left us an account of extended explorations thereon. According to Neill, the historian of Minnesota, they made in October, 1659, a visit to the "Sault of Lake Superior," and in the spring of the following year they coasted "along a portion of the south-eastern shore" of the great lake itself, the "kiji gummi" of the Ojibways. These events occurred while Radisson was on his third "voyage." On Radisson's fourth "voyage," begun in August, 1661, and in which he was again accompanied by his brother-in-law Groseilliers, they followed in their boats the southern shore of Lake Superior until they came to "a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad." Here they made a portage. "As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about." Point and bay now bear the same name, Chequamegon.[3] "Att

[1] Condensed by the Rev. John N. Davidson (of Milwaukee), from his historical address, July 12, 1892, before the northwest educational conference held on Madelaine island, July 12-13, under the auspices of the Lake Superior Congregational Club. All other foot-notes to this paper are by the author.— ED.

[2] See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 66, 67, 70.

[3] I use this conventional orthography, though I do not like it. In the opinion of the Rev. Edward Payson Wheeler, of Ashland, a native of Madelaine island, whose boyhood was spent among the Ojibways, it is peculiarly unfortunate that we get names used by that people in French guise or, rather, under a Frenchified disguise. What seems to me evidence of the correctness of this opinion is found in the changing of "Ojibway" to "Chippeway," and also in the spelling of the name of the bay mentioned above. This, by the Rev. John Clark, native pastor in charge of the Presbyterian mission at Odanah, is pronounced "Shah-kah-wah-mee-kunk," with a de-

the end of this bay we landed. The wild men gave thanks to that wch they worship, we to the God of Gods." Here, for a time, their Indian companions left them. Thereupon, says Radisson, "We went about to make a fort of stakes." This was probably the first structure put up by civilized men in what is now Wisconsin, and, on this same site, in the opinion of the late Lyman C. Draper, was established her first mission.[1] The place of said mission, and so perhaps of the "fort" also, is supposed by some to be at or near the mouth of Whittlesey creek, about three miles from Ashland, and between that city and Washburn.

The founder of this first mission was Father Claude Allouez. French traders who had been at Chequamegon bay invited him to go thither with them, on their return from the lower St. Lawrence. He thus writes: "The eighth day of August, 1665, I embarked at Three Rivers with six Frenchmen, in company with more than four hundred savages of divers nations. The devil formed all opposition imaginable to our voyage, making use of the false prejudice that these Indians have, namely, that baptism causes death to their children. On the second of September we entered into the upper lake, which will hereafter bear the

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cided accent on the last syllable. Mr. Wheeler also accents the last syllable, but prefers the pronunciation "Sheh-gu-wah-mi-kung." William Whipple Warren, in whose veins honorably flowed Ojibway blood, writes the name "Chagouamigon," in his "History of the Ojibways" (*Minn. Hist. Coll.*, v., p. 21).

[1] Had René Menard not perished (probably by murder), the honor of founding the first mission within the limits of our state would doubtless have been his. It was during the interval between Radisson's third "voyage" and his fourth, that Menard started from the head of Keweenaw bay to seek Hurons near the head waters of the Black river. Abandoned by his lying Indian companions, he waited fifteen days for help which they promised to send him. This delay, it would seem, was beside Lac Vieux Desert. Following the Wisconsin river he came, Verwyst thinks, to a spot near the confluence of the Copper river with the Wisconsin, near the present village of Merrill. It was about the tenth of August, 1661, that this hero of the cross was seen of men no more. See Chrysostom Verwyst's *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Allouez* (Milw., 1886), p. 176.

name of Monsieur Tracy.[1] After having gone a hundred and eighty leagues along that coast of Lake Tracy, which looks towards the south, we arrived on the first day of October, 1665, at Chequamegon. It is a beautiful bay at the head of which is situated the large village of the Indians, who there cultivate fields of Indian corn and do not lead a wandering life. There are at this place men bearing arms who number about eight hundred; but these are gathered together from seven different tribes, and live in peaceable community. * * * The section of the lake shore where we have settled down is between two large villages and is, as it were, the center of all the tribes of these countries; because the fishing here is very good, which forms the principal source of support to these people. We have erected there a small chapel of bark, where my sole occupation is to receive the Algonquin and Huron Christians, instruct them, baptize and catechise the children," etc. The name of the Holy Spirit was given by Allouez to mission, chapel, and place. What Allouez calls "La Pointe d'Esprit" is the wide cape between Chequamegon bay and the western part of Lake Superior.

One reason, apparently, that so many Indians chose the shores of Chequamegon bay as a home was, that there they were at a safe distance from the Iroquois on the east, and supposed themselves to be out of danger from the Sioux on the west. Says one of the writers in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1668 and 1669: "God has found some elect in every tribe during the time in which the fear of the Iroquois has kept them assembled there. But finally the danger having passed, each tribe returned to its own country." However, the Hurons, Ottawas, and perhaps some of the other tribes remained.

In 1667, the year in which Marquette was sent to found a mission at Sault Ste. Marie, Allouez went back to Quebec, arriving there on the third of August. He returned to the mission of the Holy Spirit, where he stayed two years

[1] Jean Baptiste Tracy, then intendant of New France. His office was designed by the home government to be a sort of check upon that of the governor.

longer. In 1669 he went again to Quebec, whence he once more came west, this time to establish a mission in the Green Bay region.

James Marquette succeeded Allouez in the mission on Chequamegon bay. This famous missionary and explorer arrived at his new station the thirteenth of September, 1669. "I went," he says, "to visit the Indians, who were living in clearings divided, as it were, into five villages. The Hurons, to the number of four or five hundred souls, are nearly all baptized, and still always preserve a little Christianity." He thus continues: "Those of the Keinouche tribe[1] declare loudly that the time has not yet come [to embrace the Christian religion]. The Outaouacs [Ottawas] seem to harden themselves against the instructions imparted to them. The Kiskakonk nation, which for three years has refused to receive the gospel announced to them by Father Allouez, finally resolved, in the autumn of the yea 1668, to obey God. This resolution was taken in a council and declared to the Father who was to winter with them for the fourth time in order to instruct and baptize them. The Father having gone to another mission, the charge of this one was given to me."

At this time the Illinois were living west of the Mississippi. Some of them came to the mission. Marquette gives an account of them, and adds: "When the Illinois come to La Pointe, they pass a great river about a league in width. It runs from north to south, and so far that the Illinois, who know not what a canoe is,[2] have not heard of its mouth. It is hardly credible that this large river empties [into the sea] at Virginia; and we rather believe it has its mouth in California. If the Indians who have promised to make a canoe do not fail in their word, we shall travel on this river as far as possible." As is well known, this purpose was carried out two years later, when Joliet and Marquette entered the upper Mississippi by the Fox-Wisconsin route, as Radisson and Groseilliers had probably

[1] An Ottawa clan. The name (corrupted into our Kenosha) means th kind of fish known to us as pike.

[2] Query: How did they cross the river?

done fourteen years before them. Marquette's stay at Chequamegon bay was a short one, The last account of the mission of the Holy Spirit is in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1671 and 1672. "These quarters of the north have their Iroquois as well as those of the south; there are certain people called Nadouessi [Sioux] who make themselves dreaded by all their neighbors. Our Outaouacs and Hurons had up to the present time kept up a kind of peace with them; but affairs having become embroiled, and some murders even having been committed on both sides, our savages had reason to apprehend that the storm would burst upon them, and judged that it was safer for them to leave the place. They retired to the Lake of the Hurons. Father Marquette was obliged to follow his flock, submitting to the same fatigues and encountering the same dangers with them." The Hurons went to "Missilimackinac," a name then applied not only to the island now called Mackinaw, but also to the mainland north of it. The Ottawas found a home on the island of "Ekaentouton" [Manitoulin]. Under the name of St. Ignatius, Marquette reestablished his mission where is now the little city of St. Ignace, Michigan. Here, too, was established a French military post. But after Cadillac founded Detroit in 1701, he withdrew the garrison from St. Ignatius, despite the entreaties of the Jesuits, and prevailed upon many of the Indians to leave. To prevent the desecration of their church by pagan Indians, the priests set fire to it with their own hands, and abandoned the mission.[1]

In the "Relation of the Mission of St. Ignatius at Missilimackinac," we find a remark that takes us back to the time before Marquette and his flock left their home on Chequamegon bay. "Some prisoners," we read, "which were made on both sides, were put to death by burning them." In the midst of atrocities like these, beyond his power to prevent, Marquette's stay of two years or less in what is now Wisconsin came to an end in 1671.

But notwithstanding the flight of Hurons and Ottawas from Chequamegon bay, the Sioux (Dakotahs) did not be-

[1] See Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict.*

come permanent masters there. The strong and determined enemies of that tribe, the Ojibways, either had not then arrived thither or could not be displaced. These, according to their own tradition, as recorded by Warren, "first reached Point Sha-ga-waum-ik-ong about 1490. There for many years they concentrated their numbers in one village. They were surrounded by fierce and inveterate enemies whom they denominated the O-dug-aum-eeg (opposite-side people, best known at this day as the Foxes), and the A-boin-ug (or roasters), by which significant name they have ever known the powerful tribe of Dakotas."[1]

Pressed by these enemies, the Ojibways removed to the adjacent island of Moningwunakauning (the place of the golden-breasted woodpecker), now called Madelaine. But, through some superstitious fears, increased if not caused by their magicians, commonly called medicine men,— who correspond in many respects to our spirit mediums,— this place was afterwards so utterly abandoned that an Ojibway would scarcely venture to set foot upon it.

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[1] The meaning of their own tribal name is suggestive: "To roast till puckered up;" from *o-jib*, "puckered up," and *ab-way*, "to roast." Both names, *Ojibway* and *Aboinuy*, probably originated from the practice of putting captives to death by torture with fire. Another name, Saulteaux or Sauteurs, "the people of the falls," properly used only of those of the Ojibways who remained at the Sault of Lake Superior, is used sometimes apparently of the whole tribe.

Warren, to whom we are indebted for most of these statements concerning the Ojibways, states that the present tribal name has been in use "certainly not more than three centuries, and in all probability much less. It is only in this term of time that they have been disconnected as a distinct or separate tribe from the Ottawas and Potta-wat-um-ies. The name by which they were known when incorporated in one body is at the present day uncertain. The final separation of these three tribes took place at the straits of Michilimackinac from natural causes." From these straits, "the Potta-wat-um-ies moved up Lake Michigan and by taking with them, or for a time perpetuating, the national fire, which, according to tradition, was sacredly kept alive in their more primitive days, they have obtained the name of 'those who make or keep the fire,' which is the literal meaning of their tribal cognomen. Those who remained eastward of both divisions of their kindred came first in contact with the French and thus, as their name signifies, became the 'Ottawas,' that is, the 'traders.'"

Years later, apparently in 1692 or 1693, the French explorer Le Seuer built some sort of a structure on Madelaine island, probably at the south end of it, a place which was long held by his countrymen. It is the site known now as that of the "old fort."[1] Thus this trading station was one of the oldest in the Wisconsin region. There is no record of continuous occupancy by the French, though doubtless their traders, at least, kept coming and going. But their missionaries came no more to Chequamegon. The last French officer there was Hertel de Beaubassin, who left in 1756, with Ojibways as allies, to join his countrymen in the war then raging between them and the English colonists. Nine years later, when the whole country had passed under the sway of King George, Alexander Henry — the English trader and author who so narrowly escaped with his life at the time of the massacre at (old) Fort Mackinaw,[2] June 4, 1763 — re-established the Madelaine island trading-post. To this place the name of La Pointe was applied some time during the present century, a name afterward transferred to the "new fort" built by the American Fur Company two miles farther north, when, on account of the use of larger vessels in the Lake Superior trade, and the partial filling of

[1] According to Neill, it was at this time that "the Ojibways began to concentrate in a village upon the shores of Chequamegon bay." From E. P. Wheeler, of Ashland, we have the following: "The Ojibways, I think, can not be shown to have known anything about Chequamegon bay before 1660 when, from a point toward Green bay, they were going up there to trade." Neill seems to me to be safer by far to follow than Warren. The second-growth trees, which Mr. Warren instances as showing the early occupation of La Pointe, can easily be accounted for by the fact that in 1762 a French trader was known to have summered there,-- not because there were Indians there, but because they were on the opposite side. Following down from 1762 to 1791, when John Johnson summered there, and the Cadottes also came to the island, there were occasional traders who found it safer to trade from over across the channel on La Pointe island, than at Bayfield and vicinity, where the Indians were congregated. These transient traders at La Pointe would account for the second-growth timber which existed at the time of Warren's early recollections as a boy (born 1824).

[2] This old fort was on the south side of the strait.

the old harbor with sand, a new and a deeper one became a necessity. Thus when we see the name La Pointe, we need to remember that it once meant the mainland west of Chequamegon bay, then the southern end of Madelaine island, and last of all the village which now bears it.

From Henry, the trade seems to have passed to the brothers Cadotte, Jean Baptiste and Michel, descendants of one Cadeau, who, it is said, came to the Lake Superior region in 1671, in the company of the French deputy, Simon Francis Daumont, the Sieur de St. Lusson. In that year, at a great gathering of the Indian tribes held at Sault Ste. Marie, St. Lusson formally took possession (June 14) of all this region, — and a good part of the rest of the world, — in the name of his master Louis XIV., king of France.[1]

In 1818, a young man, Lyman Marcus Warren, a native of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, came with his younger brother, Truman Abraham, to the Lake Superior region, "to engage in the fur trade. They entered the service of Michel Cadotte and soon became great favorites with the Ojibways." They married daughters of their employer, and succeeded to his trade, which they carried on at first in rivalry to the American Fur Company, but afterward in connection with it. In 1825, Truman A. Warren died while on a voyage from Mackinaw to Detroit. He left a

[1] It is evident from the terms of the *procès-verbal* set forth on this occasion, at Sault Ste. Marie, by "Simon François Daumont, Esquire, Sieur de St. Lusson, Commissioner subdelegate of my Lord the Intendant of New France" (Jean Baptiste Talon), that he did not intend that anything should be lost because it had not been claimed. "We take possession of the said place of Ste. Mary of the Falls as well as of Lake Huron and Supérieur, the island of Caientoton [Manitoulin] and of all other Countries, rivers, lakes and tributaries, contiguous and adjacent thereunto, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the Northern and Western Seas and on the other side by the South Sea [Pacific ocean] including all its length or breadth." The ceremony is spoken of in the *Jesuit Relations* as one "worthy of the eldest son of the church and of a most Christian sovereign." Allouez was there and made an address to the Indians concerning the king, in terms which lead us to wonder what more he could have said, had he been speaking of the lord of earth and heaven. See text of the *procès-verbal*, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xi., pp. 26–29.

son, James Henry, who has but lately (October, 1891) retired from a service of twenty-seven years as Congregational home missionary superintendent of California.

To the elder brother, Lyman Marcus, were given more years of life. His eager zeal for the good of the Indians and others with whom he lived led to the establishment of the first mission on Madelaine island. In the summer of 1829, when Mr. Warren made his annual trip to Mackinaw, he took with him a boat for the special purpose of bringing back a missionary. Frederick Ayer returned with him, opened a school, attended at first only by white children, studied the Ojibway language, and, though not yet ordained, served as pastor to both whites and Indians. At that time there was no other mission on Lake Superior.

The next year, the mission was strengthened by the coming of the Rev. Sherman Hall and wife, with an interpreter, Mrs. John Campbell. The mission family left Mackinaw on the fifth of August, 1831, in company with Mr. Warren, and arrived at La Pointe on the thirtieth. Under the former date, Mr. Hall wrote as follows: "The manner of traveling on the upper waters of the great lakes is with open canoes and batteaux. The former are made in the Indian style, the material of which is the bark of the white birch and the wood of the white cedar. The cedar forms the ribbing, and the bark the part which comes in contact with the water. These are made of various sizes, from ten to thirty feet in length. The largest are sufficiently strong to carry from two to three tons of lading. They are propelled with the paddle, and when well built and well manned, without lading, will go from eighty to one hundred miles in a day, in calm weather. Batteaux are light-made boats, about forty feet in length, and ten or twelve feet wide at the center, capable of carrying about five tons' burden each, and are rowed by six or seven men. They have no deck. Upon articles of lading with which the boat is filled, is the place for the passengers, who have no other seats than they can form for themselves out of their traveling trunks, boxes, beds, etc. On these they place themselves in any position which necessity may require or

convenience suggest. Such is the vehicle which is to convey us to the place of our destination. In the small compass of this boat we have to find room for eleven persons. At night our tent is pitched on some convenient place on shore." [1]

This company took care not to travel on the Sabbath. Their first Sunday, the seventh of August, was spent at Sault Ste. Marie, "where they were received with Christian hospitality by the Rev. Abel Bingham, Baptist missionary there." Rev. Jeremiah Porter, so well known in connection with the early history of Chicago, began his work at Sault Ste. Marie this year, but not until about Thanksgiving.

The La Pointe to which the missionaries came, was the "old fort" on the southern end of the island. The first sermon ever delivered in this place by a regularly-ordained Christian minister was by Mr. Hall, in the afternoon of the first Sunday after his arrival. He had held a meeting in the morning, attended by a considerable number of Frenchmen. It is pleasant to read his acknowledgment of "kindness received from Catholic families."

About the first of September the school averaged twenty-five. "The instruction given has been wholly in the English language, on account of our having no books in the language of the natives. Some elementary Indian books are very much needed. A Sabbath-school exercise has been held on Sabbath mornings with the children." Meetings for Indian adults were also held, at which a few verses were often read from a small scripture tract prepared by Dr. James of the United States army. The hymn-book used was one published for the use of the Methodist missions to the Ojibways in Upper Canada.

A mission-house, still standing, but unoccupied, was soon built at La Pointe half-way between the old fort and the new. Besides affording a place for worship and teaching, it became the home of all the Protestant missionaries who labored on the island, one of whom, Mrs. Harriet E. Wheeler, thinks that it was built in 1832.

[1] A batteau of this description can be found in the museum of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Again a pioneer of pioneers, Mr. Ayer, in the autumn of 1832, pressed farther into the wilderness on a tour of missionary exploration. He visited Sandy lake and Leech lake. The former, lying on the great portage route from Winnepeg, by way of the St. Louis river, to Lake Superior, has been a noted point on that waterway for two hundred years. Very near the confluence of the lake's short outlet with the Mississippi was the home and trading-post of William Aitkin, for whom a Minnesota county has been named. Mr. Ayer wintered with him, taught school, and finished an Ojibway spelling-book, begun at La Pointe. Early in the spring, with eighty dollars paid by Mr. Aitkin, who also furnished an experienced guide, Mr. Ayer started on foot for Mackinaw, bound for Utica, New York, to get his book printed soon enough to make it possible for him to return to Lake Superior that season with the traders. In those days, it was a journey for a hero, and indeed nearly cost him his life. Once, having broken through the ice, he would have been drowned but for a long pole which prudently he was carrying. Of all books written wholly or in part in Wisconsin, this Ojibway speller is probably the first in point of time.

The missionaries of that time were not strangers to long and hard journeys. Nor were these always undertaken in summer. "It requires an athletic constitution," write Messrs. Hall and Boutwell[1] from La Pointe, February 7,

[1] In the spring of 1832, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft organized an expedition with the purpose of ascertaining the true source of the Mississippi, and making other geographical and scientific discoveries. Accompanying this expedition, the Rev. William Thurston Boutwell came to La Pointe June 20th. Thence the party went westward by way of Fond du Lac (of Lake Superior). The first sermon ever preached at this old trading-post, now a station on the Northern Pacific railway, was by Mr. Boutwell, probably on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of June. "On the following Sabbath the rain and the mosquitoes rendered it impossible for us to have divine service." Under date of the thirteenth of July, Mr. Boutwell wrote: "At 2 p. m. we reached Elk lake, now called Itasca. Before that time, Cass lake had been regarded as the source of the Mississippi. Apparently not satisfied with *omushkös*, the Ojibway word for "elk," Mr. Schoolcraft sought for the newly-discovered lake what he awkwardly calls a

1835, "to shoulder one's pack and march five or six days in succession through the uninhabited wilderness, perhaps with a pair of snow-shoes on the feet, and at night to encamp in the open air with only a blanket or two for covering." With men who would thus endure hardship in the cause of humanity, the mission was sure to do good work.

The first organization of a Congregational church[1] within the present limits of Wisconsin took place at La Pointe in August, 1833, in connection with this mission. The precise date seems hopelessly to be lost.

A second mission, one of the Roman Catholic communion, was begun by Rev. Frederic Baraga, a native of Austria, who arrived at La Pointe the twenty-seventh of July, 1835. In the year of his arrival he caused to be built what the Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst calls a chapel Six years later, some logs of this building were used in the construction of the present church, dedicated the first of August, 1841. This is the church over which, in spite of what Messrs. W. W. Warren and Verwyst both have written, some ill-informed people, supposing that it was erected by Father Marquette, indulge in much wasted sentiment.[2]

"female" name. Not being himself a classical scholar, he asked Mr. Boutwell the Latin words for "true" and "head." As *verus* did not seem to be suited to his purpose, Mr. Schoolcraft took the kindred noun, *veritas*, and from its last two syllables, and the first of *caput*, formed "Itasca."

Mr. Boutwell married a daughter of Ramsey Crooks, of whom we have some account in Irving's *Astoria*. Her mother was of Indian origin. Before her marriage, Mrs. Boutwell was a missionary teacher. While living at Leech lake, in what is now Minnesota, Mr. and Mrs. Boutwell protected from annoying and even dangerous Indians the eminent astronomer, Jean N. Nicollet. Mr. Boutwell died October 11, 1890.

[1] The (Congregational) church among the Stockbridge Indians was organized at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1785, and removed with its people, first to New York and then (1822–29) to the Green Bay region.

[2] In this church hangs a pleasing though not a great picture, a "Descent from the Cross," probably by some Italian painter or copyist. The story given in some guide books, that this painting was brought to America by Marquette, is most absurd. If it had been in Marquette's mission,—which it will be remembered was not on Madelaine island at all,—he would

Close by the lake shore, on the right hand of the landing-place, stands the church begun in 1837 by the Protestant mission and congregation. According to Captain Angus, there was a difference of only a few days in beginning work on the two buildings, and he does not remember which was begun first. We may anticipate here sufficiently to remark that with the decay of the fur trade and the removal of the Indians to the Odanah reservation, both these churches passed into comparative neglect. However, in the Roman Catholic church, service is now held once in two weeks; and the other has lately, July 12, 1892, become the property in trust of the Lake Superior Congregational Club, and will doubtless be cared for better in the future than it has been in the past.

Perhaps the only translation of the New Testament made in Wisconsin is that by Mr. Hall, assisted by Henry Blatchford, a Chippewa half-breed, who has been connected with the mission since 1834. They finished their translation of the Gospel of Luke as early as 1836. Mr. Hall carried on this work of translation until he had made from the Greek an excellent version of the New Testament. In this work he had the advantage of the prior but less accurate translation of Dr. James. In the report concerning the mission, written probably in August, 1836, or sooner, the names are given of five books printed "during the year," apparently under the auspices of the mission. This subject of the creation of a new literature possesses more interest, because of the statement of Warren that "there is no word in the Ojibway language expressive of a profane oath."

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doubtless have taken it with him when he and his people were driven to "Missilimackinac." Furthermore, we have the express testimony of Captain John Daniel Angus, still a resident of La Pointe, that he helped unpack this picture among other goods belonging to Father Baraga, when the latter returned to America after spending (so says Captain Angus) the winter of 1840 in Rome. Miss Baraga came at this time with her brother to America, and like him gave up rank and title for missionary service. It may be added that Captain Angus says the picture was given to Father Baraga by the pope.

In 1841, the Rev. Leonard Hemenway Wheeler and wife, Rev. Woodbridge L. James and wife, and Miss Abigail Spooner, came to the La Pointe mission. Mr. and Mrs. James did not long remain. Miss Spooner rendered years of service. It is no disparagement to the other laborers there to say that Mr. Wheeler is the first among equals. "It is safe to say," writes Dr. Edwin Ellis, now county judge of Ashland county, who personally knew him, "that no man was ever more thoroughly devoted to the work of rescuing the Indians from barbarism, and vice, and degradation, than was Mr. Wheeler. His primary object was to preach Christ, but he saw clearly that the Indian must be civilized or exterminated." Mr. Wheeler, believing that for Indians — and white men as well — industry is a necessary part of Christianity, determined to found an agricultural settlement. This he established on the Mushkeezeebi, or Bad river (literally the Marsh river), and named Odanah, an Ojibway word meaning "village." Thither he removed the first day of May, 1845. Mr. Hall remained at La Pointe until 1853, when he removed to Crow Wing on the Mississippi. Before the latter date, Mr. Ayer also had removed to Minnesota, where he became a member of the convention that framed the present constitution of that state.

Among the Indians in the settlement at Odanah, Mr. Wheeler established civil government. He aided in the same service among the whites, holding, after La Pointe county was organized, various offices which increased his responsibilities rather than his income. Nor did he forget the spiritual needs of the whites. He was the first to preach at Ashland, and probably at Bayfield also. "Amid all the trials and discouragements of Ashland's early settlers, he was ever ready to offer words of encouragement and cheer. In its darkest periods he prophesied of Ashland's final success, and his words of cheer were influential in inducing some of us to hold on when otherwise we should have given up in despair. He was a frequent visitor among us in those early days, and his social influence was purifying and ennobling. He participated in the first public celebration ever held in Ashland, July 4,

1856. He was a man of much mechanical ingenuity; and during his residence at Odanah he invented a windmill which has since been patented under the name of the Eclipse windmill, a very useful invention, which is now extensively used all over the United States and Europe." Thus Dr. Ellis wrote, soon after Mr. Wheeler's death.

About 1850, came a determined effort to compel the Indians to remove to the west of the Mississippi. Their annuities for that year were paid at Fond du Lac (of Lake Superior). Mr. Wheeler would not advise the Indians to refuse to do what the government commanded, but he could not conscientiously advise removal. In 1851, the pressure to compel removal was made stronger than before, and Messrs. Hall and Wheeler made a tour of exploration in the country to which it was proposed that the Lake Superior Ojibways should go. They left La Pointe on the fifth of June, and returned on the eleventh of July. Mr. Wheeler returned with the conviction that it would be a deed of mercy on the part of the government to shoot the Indians, rather than send them to the new region assigned them, where they would be exposed to the fury of their relentless enemies, the Sioux.

In 1852, the dismal struggle continued. Under date of July 11, 1853, Mrs. Wheeler thus wrote to her parents from La Pointe: "The last winter was one of the most dreary, lonely and trying ones we have ever spent in the country. The breaking up of the mission here [a prospective result of the removal of the Indians] and the unsettled, confused state of Indian affairs threw a gloom over the future. Often did I flee into my bedroom to hide the tears I could not control. The heat and burden of the day press heavily upon dear husband. He has grown old fast since we returned from the East [where they had been for a rest two years before], and I sometimes look anxiously forward to the future. He is obliged to attend to all the secular affairs of our station, and has charge of the property of the [mission] board here, oversees all our own and the Indians' farming,—giving out their seed, plowing their ground, etc. He is doctor for both places [Odanah and

La Pointe], chairman of the board of county commissioners, besides numberless other things too small to mention perhaps, but which nevertheless break in upon his time and divert his mind from his more appropriate work. To human appearance our people were never in a better condition to profit by the preaching of the gospel. We think there is hardly a possibility of removing them. They are fully determined not to go. They have lived two years without their payments, and find they do not starve or freeze. Indeed I doubt very much whether there is a band of Chippeways beyond the Mississippi, with all their annuities, that are as well fed and clothed as ours are."

To no other period of Mr. Wheeler's life did the following words from Dr. Ellis better apply, than to this time: "When unscrupulous and grasping men were ready to rob and wrong the red men, his watchful eye and sound judgment saw the danger, and, like the old cavalier, without fear and without reproach, he raised his voice and used his pen for their defense. His intercession in their behalf was usually productive of essential good, for those that knew him knew that truth and justice were at his back, and that it was not safe to take up the gauntlet against so unselfish a champion. It was not for himself that he pleaded, but for those who could not defend themselves."

His pleadings were not in vain. There came a change for the better. The payments to the Indians were resumed at La Pointe, and Mr. Wheeler's ideas of justice toward the Ojibway Indians were substantially embodied in a treaty made with them, the thirtieth of September, 1854, by which three reservations were provided for,— at Odanah, where he had made a settlement so many years before, at Lac Court Oreilles, and at Lac du Flambeau. To have the government give the head of each Indian family eighty acres of land, and to induce the Indians to settle upon farms and improve them, were favorite projects with Mr. Wheeler. In short, he anticipated what enlightened public sentiment now demands as the only just and sensible method of dealing with the Indians.

From the first establishment of the mission much was made of school work. But Mr. Wheeler had a more comprehensive plan. In 1859 he succeeded in opening a school into which children could be gathered from wigwam life. For many years, the Odanah boarding-school afforded the best educational facilities that the Wisconsin Ojibways have yet enjoyed. It was judged worthy of governmental recognition and aid.

But with the realization of his cherished hope came an ominous change in Mr. Wheeler's health. A hemorrhage from the lungs, in the spring of 1859, warned him that he must never again sleep out of doors in the bitter cold of a Lake Superior winter night, with the thermometer at twenty-eight degrees below zero. He must take no more journeys that would bring him home with feet bleeding from cuts made by the thongs of his snow-shoes. Yet his work was not done.

The years of the War of Secession were years of anxiety and danger. The little mission church of Odanah made its offering of precious life. The rascality of certain officials, in dealing with the Indians, threatened disturbance. Mr. Wheeler went to warn the government of impending danger. While he was gone, the frightful Sioux outbreak occurred in Minnesota (August, 1862), and an embassy came to stir up his own people to revolt. But these remained loyal to the influence and teaching of the missionaries. They wished even to raise a company to help the Great Father in Washington subdue his enemies, with the particular thought, it may be, of making war upon their own traditional enemies, the Sioux. But it was not thought best that they should engage in warfare, or be led to believe that their Great Father could not do without their help.

After serving these humble people for a quarter of a century, Mr. Wheeler's special labors in their behalf came to an end in October, 1866. The wasting of consumption compelled removal, and left him but six years more of life. These were spent at Beloit, where he was engaged in a manufacturing enterprise, which provided

support for his family, and education for his children. To him the end of life came on the twenty-second of February, 1872. On Sunday, the twenty-fifth, the wasted body of this faithful missionary of the cross was borne beneath the arches of the First Congregational church in Beloit, whence so much precious dust has been carried to the grave. "God buries his workmen, but carries on his work." The great results of all missionary and church work are written only in the Book of Life. But upon the pages of history, even as men write it, there is honorable place for the record of twenty-five years' labor among a once barbarous people, the establishment of civil government among them, the development of improved plans of missionary and educational work, the training of laborers for other fields, the founding of a town, and the establishment of a successful business carried on in the spirit of the Master.

Mr. Wheeler's friend, Bishop Baraga, whose mission also had been transferred to Odanah, and who himself had found with a change in duty a home in northern Michigan, died in 1868. It is doubtless of Bishop Baraga that the late James Parton thus writes in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April of that year: "I have had the pleasure, once in my life, of conversing with an absolute gentleman: one in whom all the little vanities, all the little greedinesses, all the paltry fuss, worry, affectation, haste, and anxiety springing from imperfectly-disciplined self-love,— all had been consumed; and the whole man was kind, serene, urbane, and utterly sincere. This perfect gentleman was a Roman Catholic bishop, who had spent thirty years of his life in the woods near Lake Superior, trying (and failing, as he frankly owned) to convert rascally Chippeways into tolerable human beings. 'I make pretty good Christians of some of them,' said he; 'but *men?* No: it is impossible." It would be interesting to know how much this confession of failure has been affected by Mr. Parton's interpretation.

Upon the re-union of the New School and the Old School branches of the Presbyterian church, the Odanah mission, with others, was transferred from the care of the American

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to that of the Presbyterian Board.[1] The Odanah church was reorganized according to Presbyterian polity on Sunday, August 6, 1876. But the same faithful pastor, Henry Blatchford, already named, remained in charge. When the feebleness of age compelled a change, a successor was found in a native Ojibway, whose parents named him John Clark, in honor of the well-known Methodist missionary and evangelist.

The Roman Catholic mission is also continued, receiving its support out of the munificent gift of Miss Catherine Drexel. It is now perhaps the most prosperous of the two. Its school is on the site where was the one established by Mr. Wheeler. For a time the Presbyterian Board neglected its mission, and even went so far as to sell the valuable property above mentioned.

The Indians are decreasing in number. But the influence of the work done at Odanah has extended to the Indian missions farther to the west and north, and, as we have seen, to the whites whose homes are now on the shores of the beautiful Chequamegon.

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[1] The American Board was for many years an inter-denominational organization, representing the (Dutch) Reformed and Presbyterian churches as well as those of the Congregational order. By the withdrawal of the other denominations, the Board has become practically a Congregational body. But it was in the days of united work that the mission on Madelaine island was founded and supported by the American Board.

EARLY SCHOOLS IN GREEN BAY.

The following documents relating to early schools in Green Bay are selected from the collection of manuscripts in the possession of the Society, known as "Grignon, Lawe, and Porlier Papers." The schools referred to were distinct from the mission schools of the district, which were designed for the instruction of Indians. See "List of Inhabitants at Green Bay," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. x., pp. 136–140, for references to many of the persons mentioned below.

T. S. JOHNSON'S AGREEMENT.

[Translation from the French.]

Agreement

By Thomas S. Johnson, of the state of Onondago, of New York, to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and the English language in the vicinity of Green Bay during the space of nine months from this date. It is necessary in order to carry out this agreement, to have as soon as possible a suitable house for the reception of the scholars, and the necessary wood furnished by the subscribers. During the said term of nine months the preceptor will be at all times ready to receive these scholars, that is to say in the time which the said subscribers have proposed. The Sunday excepted, the said preceptor according to ordinary rules, in order to teach the children will conform agreeably to the wishes of those by whom he will be employed. It is with this understanding that the undersigned agree to pay to Thomas S. Johnson, aforesaid, the sum of 6 dollars for each scholar per quarter, and to pay him each quarter.

DONE AT GREEN BAY THE 10 OF NOVEMBER, 1817.

Jacques Porlier ..... 2.
his
Alexander × Guerguipet ..... 1.
mark
John Lawe ..... 5.
Peter Powell ..... 3.
pier Ullrich ..... 2.
Louis Grignon ..... 6.
Joseph Jourdin ..... 2.
Bte. La Bord ..... 2.
his
B. × Larock ..... 1.
mark

6th January, 1818 — for 2 months.

[G., L. & P., iv., 55.]

SEMINARY SUBSCRIBERS.

The Subscribers of the Green Bay Seminary, To Thomas S. Johnson, Dr.

Subscribers names.	No. of Scholars	Months.	Days.	Tuition.	Repairs.	Total.		Rent.
				$	$	$		
P. Morrison	1	3	12 1-6	6 82	 91	7 73	Paid.	1 58
Wm. Whistler.....	1	....	.....	....	....	7 73	Paid.	1 58
R. Irwin, Junr.	1	.....	.....	.. ....	....	7 73	Paid.	1 58
John Lawe	5	....	.....	34 12	4 55	38 67	Paid.	7 90
Jacques Porlier	2	.....	.....	13 64	1 82	15 46	Paid.	3 16
Peter Powell	3	.....	.....	20 46	2 73	23 19	Paid.	4 74
Pier Ulrich.....	2	....	.....	13 64	1 82	15 46	Paid.	3 10
Lewis Grignon	6	.....	.....	40 92	5 46	46 38	Paid.	9 48
John Bowyer..	5	.....	.....	34 12	4 55	38 67	Paid.	7 90
Richard Prickett.. ...	1	.....	.....	6 82	 91	7 73	Paid.	1 58
Joseph Jourdin.....	2	.....	.....	13 64	1 82	15 46	Paid.	3 16
Alexander Guripier....	1	.. ..	.....	6 82	 91	7 73	Paid.	1 58
T. Bte. La Bord.....	2	2	22 1-6	10 74	1 82	12 56	Paid.	0 16
James Dean.....	1	3	12 1-6	6 82	 91	7 73	Paid.	1 58

[G., L. & P., iv., 54.]

A SUBSCRIPTION PAPER.

GREEN BAY, JULY 20th, 1820.

We the subscribers, wishing to encourage the establishment of a good school for the education of our own & other children in this place, to be taught by a Gentleman & Lady, hereby signify our willingness, & give our pledge to contribute to the support of such a School, should proper Instructors for it be sent. the Sums affixed to our respective names, — also to provide for s[d] Instructors, free of expense to them, a house & School room, so long as they shall fulfil the duties of their office to the satisfaction of their employers.

M. IRWIN, twenty dollars for one child, and quantity of vegetables.

M. BOWYER sixty Dollars for three children.

L. GRIGNON, Mr. one hundred dollars for five children and a proportionate quantity of vegetables.

[G., L. & P., unb.]

J. B. S. JACOBS TO J. LAWE AND L. GRIGNON.

To Mr. John Lawe & Mr. Louis Grignon,

GENTLEMEN, — as I have mentiond to you boath, that I intend to keep school being the onley means for a Liveleyhood. I shall concider it a great Obligation if you will favour me in obtaining Scholars, which I promise to do & act faithfully my duty as a school Master toward them &c.

Respectfully, Gentlemen your

J. BTE S. JACOBS.

GREEN BAY, 17 October, 1820

To Mr. J. Lawe and Mr. Louis Grignon.

[G., L. & P., vii., 44.]

FOR THE ERECTION OF A HOUSE.

GREEN BAY, Oct. 1821.

At a meeting of the citizens of Green bay it was resolved:

1st.— That a subscription should be set on foot and measures taken for the erection of a suitable building for a school house:

2nd.— That when a tutor shall be obtained and instruction commence the subject of religion as it regards the difference of sects shall be excluded from the school as it is presumed the subscribers will be of various denominations of Christians.

3rd.— That the erection of the building & the superintendence of the school rules established be assigned to four persons chosen by a majority of the subscribers.

4th.— That every person having subscribed & paid five dollars shall be entitled to a vote touching any matter relative to the school or school-house to be established.

5th.— That Messrs. John Lawe, Jacques Porlier, George Johnston & Louis Grignon be requested to take the necessary steps to carry these resolutions into effect and that Mr. John Lawe be requested to receive such pecuniary subscriptions and to keep a record thereof as well as of such subscriptions as may be made in materials or labor.

JOHN BIDDLE.

Indorsed — "Articles for the Regulation of erecting a school house at Green Bay."

[G., L. & P., ix., 74]

JACOBS TO LAWE.

GREEN BAY 26th November 1821.

DEAR LAWE,— Your note in answer to mind of the 25th inst pleased me mush, as it maid me cum to my right sencess; in one part of my leter to you I returnd you thanks for your favour towards me, and in another part that you abused me. I did not mean to say so, it is a mistake on my part. I ment to say that you repremanded me several times in regard of the Blotter I kept last summer for you and my saying you was Jealous about my school I intended

to mention that you gave me no answer to my note to you where I mentioned I would be quite happy if you would send your Children to school and I should charge you onley one Dollar per Child instead of two — and about minding receaiveing person with spirits and Whiskey, I was half drunk and I maid Ceremonies to get quite so.

in regard of making out my account against you, please to place to my Credit, your's and Mr. Frankes Children 7 Months schooling $8 — as to my writing for you cupping [copying] invoices &c est les commission que je faiette — I did not inteand to ask you aney thing — but as I am a poor, reatch and Mr. Porlier has no Blanket of 2½ Pt. and my Girl as not aney I would which [wish] you to Let me have one & ½ the Coloured Thread and one dressd deer Skin

To Forgive my errors
Respectifully yours
J. Bte. S. Jacobs.

I shall probably pay you with grain.

I have 24 Scholar but I suppose half will pay and the others will not pay verry well.

This Letter as been writin on the 26 Novemb at present 8 December 1821.

To Mr. John Lawe.

Indorsed:—"Letter from J. Jacobs, Green Bay 26th Nov., 1821."

[G., L. & P., ix., 88.]

GEORGE HUNT TO LAWE.

Mr. John Law,

Dear Sir.— The revd. Isaac McCoy Baptist Missionary at this place is a particular friend of mine and a friend to Man.

He proposes opening a school at Green Bay. Any countenance that you may please to give his laudable scheme will be a favour on a man who possesses the confidence of a numerous society of citizens of the first respectability & will be thankfully acknowledged,

by Sir your Obt. Sevt.
George Hunt.

Indorsed:—"Recd. in June, 1822. No date, no place."

[G., L. & P., xii., 83.]

JACOBS TO LAWE.

MANOMENIE RIVER, 20th January, 1823.

DEAR LAWE,—Mr. J. Houlle did his message and threats you told him to tell me—first I should have no traide with indians. I told Mr. Houlle, to give you my compliments & you must take me for a [big] fool. I have Capt. Whistler Instructions before my eyes. Mr. J. Houlle told me if it could be proved I had dealinges with the Indians, you would give Orders to Chapue To get Indians to tie me up and bring me to the Bay this same thing word was sent me by Pierish Grignon and on the 23rd of November at night an Indian named Wabenenie which Chapue employs to go on Douvin came drunk to me saying I must give him whisky I was an inglishman and told Mr. J. Houlle that your commission of a judge could not authorize you to threaten me in shush a manner, if Capt. Whistler thaught propper to send for me it was right, and I am gentleman anuf to go forward without getting Indians to massecrate me althoug I am a Bratish Subject I am quite surprise at you judge Lawe, that you should commission shuch persons, however I have kept a journal of every transactions of this plase, and a good deal is said but no prove can be got, my Girl told me that you said I will be blam'd if I dont inform of Mr. Farnsworth giveing Whiskey to Indians I cannot prove it and if I could I should not injure a Man that has prevented me from Starveing this winter and have clothed my poor Children that was Naked—but I am afraid if Mr. Farnsworth wish to prove about Chapue given or retaling Whiskey to Indians he can bring forward two witnesses—Chapue sent one of his men with Indian Wabenenie to Bay des Nox, and met with two of Mr. Farnesworth men, those men got whiskey from Chapue man Jierror and gave some to Indians for six Martins and got all Drunk to gether.

* * * * * * * *

I am indeed verry sorrey Dear Lawe that you belieave I should be juiltey of defroding my word of Honour to Mr. Stuard [Stuart]—in my defense towards myseallf I ask no Friends, but justice and the strickest of the Laws, onley

sorrey to find your Friends are your Enemies you think so — and your Enemies are your good Friends but still I wish you health and Prosperity your ever poor reatshed [wretched]

B. Se. Jacobs.

N. B.

my best respect to your Family. Chapue is a good Man and does his Duty —

* * * * * * * *

Judge Lawe, after shush threats and orders you sent to Chapue and as I have been threaten on the 23 November by Indian Wabenenie, all together and words sent to me by Parish Grignon, my life is in Dainger with the Indians, as I know you have influense with those Indians, however I keep sober & on my gaird, it will cost a good deal to put my life or my Familey safe & me or my Family you know I must get in debt to Mr. Farnsworth has I have no goods to put a stop otherwise, & my intention was to write to Capt. Whistler but my oppinion is you, are ordered by some person to act so whish are not your Friends, but your enimies, remember poor Mr. Franks Letter to you, I shall go myself to the Bay this winter but before I do go I would wish you to write me a few Lines.

and believe me for ever the same, toward you

B. Se Jacobs.

The little Folle avoien came heare and said to my Girl he had a Pacton of Furs at the Canton wanted to get Sold for it. she told him to go and pay you — that he owed you. Mr. Farnsworth after now will cum hamsealf and stay here, had been incourage to keep a school at the Bay I should be there yet but one Gallon Pease 15 lbs. Pork per Month was not anueff to supp me.

I got drunk to drop the school as I could not make a Livelywood on one Gallon Pease 15 lbs. Pork per Month, and could not get Wood from Mr. Gorbut for the sake of your Family & Mr. L. Grignon Family do not treat their schoolmaster this year the same in case he drops school as I did.

[G., L. & P., xiii., 12.]

AGREEMENT WITH AMOS HOLTON.

We hereby severally agree to pay Amos Holton or order for each scholar we hereto respectively subscribe or send to his school according to the preceding proposal, four dollars per quarter.

Names of Subscribers.	No. Subscribed.	Subscribed.
John Lawe	Six	$24
Louis Grignon	Five	20 settled by note.
J. E. Porlier	three	12
Geo. Johnston	three	12
Wm. Whistler	three	12
B. Watson	Two	8
Henry Clark	One	4
P. Clark	One	4
J. B. W. Brown	One	4
Joseph Glass Two for one month		2.67

Subscription for School 4th March 1823.

I agree to teach an English school at Green Bay for one quarter to commence on the 10th day of March instant, on the following terms — namely: The subscribers and those sending to the school to furnish a room and fires for the accommodation thereof, & pay me for each scholar subscribed for, or send four dollars per quarter. The quarter to consist of twelve weeks at the rate of five days for each week & seven hours for each day.

AMOS HOLTON.

GREEN BAY 4th March, 1823.

G., L. & P., unb.]

EXPENSES OF SCHOOL, 1823.

Contingent expenses of the school at Green Bay, 1823.

Subscribers and persons sending to the school.	
John Law per sundries in bill No. 1. Dr.....	$40.13
Peter Grignon per sundries in bill No. 2. Dr.....	16.65
To Louis Grignon for use of store $15, and one load of wood $1.....Dr.	16.00
To George Johnston for three cords of wood $6. and eighty three of Boards .....1.60 Dr.	7.60
To James Porlier for three & half cords of wood Dr.....	7.00
To Lewis Rouse for sixteen sash lights Dr.....	2.00
To I. B. Jenaw for work done to school room & Benches as per sundries in Bill No. 3. Dr.....	40.00
To Job Thompson for making & repairing benches.	4.50
	$133.88

One hundred and thirty three Dollars and eighty eight cents is the aggregate amount of the Bills presented to me; and I know personally that many of the articles were furnished and much of the work done, which form the items of the above Bill.

Dividing it by the number of Scholars viz., thirty three 33 | 133.88 | 4.05 presents a result of four Dollars and five 132 cents per scholar.
1.88

AMOS HOLTON.

GREEN BAY 13th Sept., 1823.

[G., L. & P., unb.]

D. CURTIS TO R. IRWIN, GRIGNON, AND L. ROUSE.

GREEN BAY, Augt. 12th, 1824.

MESSRS,—The Books furnished my school at the commencement of the first quarter, with a few which have been delivered since that period, have been sufficient for its use until this time; I have now to state that about three dozen

Spelling Books, and six Murray's Grammar's will be necessary for the present quarter.

Several Schollars are now destitute of Books, and the sooner they are supplied with them, the better will it be for the School generally.

Your Obt. Humble Servt.

D. CURTIS.

Messrs. Robt. Irwin, Jnr., Louis Grignon & L. Rouse.
[G., L. & P., xvii., 6.]

CURTIS TO LAWE.

John Lawe, Esq., To D. Curtis, Dr.

	Dolls. Cts.
To tuition of four schollars from Apl. 25th, 1824 till Sept. 26th, 1825, at $1.33⅓ each per mo.....	$90.66⅔
To tuition of three schollars from Decer. 16th, 1824 till Sept. 26th, 1825, at $1.33⅓ each per mo....	36.00
To Cash	10.00
To 2 Axes.....	2.00
To your assumpsion of my Acct. against Mr. Gravell.....	8.00
	146.66⅔

I know nothing of an empty Keg with you have given me credit.

Errors excepted..... D. CURTIS.

The above acct. is made out, as you will observe only, for even months, or rather for even quarters, and the broken part of the last quarter in which I kept the school, and for which I might, agreeably to my proposals for keeping a School at G. Bay have charged for the whole time, and this I wish you would explain to those who say that I have charged for too much time in my accounts. I have no doubt but you recollect the terms of my proposals, and that they were not to keep a school by the month, but by the quarter, and that the first quarter ought to have commenced at the time the instrument was signed and I ready to commence my school which was early in March whereas I have

only charged from the 25th of Apl. and have not included the deficiency of the last quarter, although it was less than an half. On this subject, however, I hope there will be no difficulty between myself and the proprietors of my school, but should I be compelled to extremities (or to resort to them), the instrument containing the grounds upon which I commenced the school can at any time be produced.

I presume also that in drawing up your account against me, you must have forgotten the promise you made me, or that your clerk must have exceeded his instructions. You no doubt recollect that you promised me in your little office, when I first spoke to you on the subject of whiskey that I should have it at cost and carriage, which you said would not exceed (you thot.) 75cts. and this I always expected you would charge. I hope you will make a deduction on that article.

My pecuniary affairs are all placed in the hands of Mr. Baird my atty. to whom I refer you for any information on the subject.

Respectfully your obt. Humble Servt.

D. CURTIS.

John Lawe, Esq , Green Bay.

Indorsed:—"Letter and account from D. Curtis, dated Prairie du Chien."

[G., L. & P., unb.]

R. IRWIN TO LAWE.

26 Novr. 1828.

DEAR SIR,—From enquiries I have made since our interview yesterday morning, I have became satisfied that it will be impossible to remove and furnish the school house this fall; mainly from the difficulty of procuring labour and materials; from every information I can collect the carpenters have more work engaged than they will be able to execute this season: and again another difficulty presents itself of no little magnatude, in the want of unanimity on the part of all our citizens; which in a business of this kind, it is desirable should prevail; many I believe would

prefer renting for the winter, than remove the school house from its present location; for the above reasons I have resolved as one of the committee to let the matter rest until Capt. Arndt returns from Kau-kaulen, which will probably be this evening, and then endeavour to rent his new building near Beaupin, I have particularly examined it and think with a little repair it will make a more comfortable school room than any we could build this fall, even admitting that labour and materials were at our command; should you acquiese in the views above expressed, it will be necessary for you to send your team.

Yours with esteem,
ROBERT IRWIN, JR.

John Lawe, Esq.

DEAR SIR,— Mr. Irwin has wrote me this note herewith if it will meet with your approbation please let him know as one of the Committee.

Yours, J. LAWE.

L. Grignon, Esq., Present.

[Translation of Grignon's comment in French.]

Not thinking about the project in that way, I resign, and decline to act as member of this committee.

[G., L. & P., xxii., 74.]

SCHOOL AT NAVARINO.

Navarino School.

Mr. Alexander Grignon would respectfully make known to the inhabitants of Green Bay, that he proposes to open a School at the New School House in Navarino for the instruction of Children in the various branches of English Studies usually taught at Common Schools.

Believing himself qualified to perform the duties of a teacher, and hoping to merit the favor of the Good Citizens of this place by an assiduous attention to be bestowed upon the Pupils placed under his charge: He solicits the subscriptions of all parents and guardians who are disposed to confer the benefits of a good education upon their

children and wards, & who are desirous of promoting their welfare and advancement in this "age of improvement."

The terms upon which pupils may be admitted into the School of Mr Grignon will be Three Dollars per Quarter for tuition — the first term to commence as soon as the number of twenty regular scholars are assured to him by the subscription List hereunto annexed.

GREEN BAY July 11th 1832.

We the undersigned, inhabitants of Green Bay, do hereby agree to furnish Mr. A. Grignon the number of regular scholars placed opposite to our respective names, and to pay to him the sum of Three Dollars per Quarter for each and every number so subscribed — at the expiration of each Term (the period of twelve weeks being considered a Term) in consideration that said Alexander Grignon will faithfully and impartially instruct them in the studies which they may be required to pursue under his direction.

Names of Subscribers.	*Residence.*	*No. of Pupils.*
John P. Arndt.....	Point Pleasant....	Three Schollers.
Eben Childs.....	Green Bay.....	One "
L. Rouse.....	Green Bay.....	One "
Daniel Whitney.....	Green Bay.....	Two "
L. Clark.....	.....	One "
J. D. Doty.....	Navarino	One "
Samuel Ryan.....	Fort Howard	Two "
N. Irving.....	Green Bay.....	One "
J. Kendall.....	Fort Howard.....	One "
John Hogarty.....	Green Bay.....	One "
W. Farnsworth.....	Green Bay.....	One "

[G., L. & P., xxix., 72.]

INDEX.

Aargau (Germany), emigration from, 333.

Abbott, Judge ——, of Detroit, 181.

Adams county, Winnebagoes in, 399, 419, 425, 430.

Adams, President John Quincy, 267.

Adams, Mrs. John Quincy, 267, 268.

Agnes, Mother, at Menard academy, 406.

Ahnapee, origin of name, 390.

Aimar, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 154.

Ainsée, Louis Joseph, Indian interpreter, 36, 37, 40, 81, 82, 91; expedition to Wisconsin and Minnesota, 84–91; cost of expedition, 92–96; sketch, 84.

Aird, James, fur-trader, 137, 151, 154.

Aitkin, William, fur trader, 444.

Albany (N. Y.), Swiss at, 345.

Albany (Wis.), railway to, 376.

Albert, François, fur-trade employee, 154.

Albion (Jackson county), 430.

Alexander, Gen. M. K., in Black Hawk war, 246–250, 256, 259.

Allamakee county (Iowa), Winnebago mission in, 405, 406.

Allar, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 154.

Allegany county (N. Y.), 171, 172, 177.

Allen, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 154.

Allentown (Pa.), 357.

All Looks Upon, Menomonee chief, 193.

Allouez, Father Claude, mission on Chequamegon bay, 435–437; with St. Lusson, 441.

Alps, effect on Swiss character, 336.

American Fur Company, list of employees (1818–19), 154–169; agency at Portage, 250, 399, 403; at Green Bay, 275; at La Pointe, 440, 441.

American Historical Association Papers, 322.

Amherstburg, in war of 1812–15, 112, 140, 143, 148; English fur trade at, 138.

Aminicon river, origin of name, 390.

Ance Quivinan. *See* L'Anse, and Keweenaw.

Anderson, Lieut. Robert, in Black Hawk war, 234.

Anderson, Thomas G., in capture of Prairie du Chien, 117.

Angus, Capt. John Daniel, on Baraga's mission, 446.

Aniwa, origin of name, 390.

Anthony, John, Oneida chief, 192.

Apple creek (Wis.), 185.

Apple river (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 228, 232, 243.

Appleton's *Cyclopœdia of American Biography*, 15, 22.

Arelle, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 154.

Argard, M. J., immigration commissioner, 328.

Arkansas, W. S. Hamilton in, 270.

Armstrong family, assist Swiss immigrants, 336.

Armstrong, Gen. John, secretary of war, 267.

Armstrong, Perry A., *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*, 217, 232.

Arndt, John P., connection with commission of 1830, 184, 185, 189, 190, 194, 197–199, 201, 202; in Black Hawk war, 290; connection with Green Bay schools, 464, 465.

Ashippun, origin of name, 391.

Ashland (city), German immigration to, 332; neighboring missions, 434, 435, 447, 448.

Ashland county, German immigration to, 330, 331.

Ashman, S., fur-trade employee, 154.

Ashwaubenon creek, origin of name, 391.

Askeaton, origin of name, 391.

Askin, John, fur trader, 110, 121, 124, 145.

Aswoe Indians, in Revolutionary war, 60.

Atherton, ——, intrigue with Rogers, 33.

Atkinson, Gen. Henry, in Black Hawk war, 217, 232–236, 240, 245–250, 256, 259–261, 272, 273, 277, 278, 283, 289–291, 294; letters from Boyd, 270, 284.

Atlantic Monthly, 451.
Auldjo & Maitland, fur traders, 78.
Aurora (Ill.), Swiss at, 345.
Austrians, in Wisconsin, 299, 333.
Autsequitt, N., Oneida chief, 192.
Avon (N. Y.), 203.
Ayawmataw, Indian chief, 297.
Ayer, Frederick, missionary at La Pointe, 442, 444, 447.

Babler, Fridolin, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 348, 367.
Babler, Oswald, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Bad Axe, battle of the, 234, 257–261, 263, 264, 287–289, 430.
Bad river, Indian mission on, 447.
Bailey, ——, English commissary, 110, 112.
Bailey, Maj. David, in Black Hawk war, 235.
Bailly, Joseph, favors English, 151.
Baird, Mrs. Elizabeth T., reminiscences, 266, 267, 276.
Baird, Henry S., Green Bay lawyer, 194, 211, 463.
Balakta, Hans, Milwaukee musician, 323.
Ballard, Maj. Bland W., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4–6.
Baltimore, 8; Swiss at, 354, 361.
Bancroft, George, knew Draper, 9, 16.
Baptists, 432; church at Madison, 12; mentioned by McCall, 180, 181, 183, 184, 203; in Portage, 432.
Baraboo (city), Winnebagoes at, 416.
Baraboo river, fur trade on, 410, 413, 414.
Baraga, Bishop Frederic, authority on Chippewa orthography, 390, 395, 398; mission work at La Pointe, 445, 446; James Parton on, 451.
Baraga, Miss ——, sister of foregoing, 446.
Barden, L. W., 401.
Baritte, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 154.
Bark river, in Black Hawk war, 248, 250.
Barmen (Germany), *Barmer Zeitung*, 315, 317.
Barte, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 154.
Bartholomè, ——, fur trader, 27.
Basle (Switzerland), emigration from, 320, 331, 233, 351, 352.
Bassett, Henry, British officer, letter to, 39.
Batteaux, early travel by, 442, 443.
Bavaria, emigration from, 304, 325, 332, 333.
Baxter, ——, interested in Lake Superior mines, 37.
Bayargent, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 154.
Bay de Noquet, arm of Green Bay, 50, 209, 395.
Bay des Enock. *See* Bay de Noquet.
Bayfield, fur trade at, 440; Protestant mission at, 447.
Beardstown (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 232, 233, 241.
Bear's Grease, Menomonee chief, 193.
Beaubassin, Hertel de, at Madelaine island, 440.
Beaubien, ——, fur trader, 161.
Beauchemin, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 154.
Beaudrie, Augustin, fur-trade employee, 154.
Beaulieu, Bazal, fur-trade employee, 154.
Beaulieu, David, fur-trade employee, 154.
Beaulieu, François, fur-trade employee, 154.
Beaulieu, Paul, fur-trade employee, 154.
Beaver island, 202.
Becher, J. A., induces German immigration, 328, 329.
Becker, Caspar, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Becker, Fridolin, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Becker, Jost, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Bedinger, Maj. George M., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 6.
Bell, Peter, boy regained from Indians, 110.
Bellefontaine, Paquette's farm, 402, 403.
Belmont, Swiss at, 346; Territorial printing at, 389.
Beloit, in Black Hawk war, 246; *Weekly Free Press*, 247, 262; death of Wheeler, 450, 451.
Benet, Louis, favors English, 151.
Benoit, ——, favors English, 151.
Benoit, François, fur-trade employee, 154.
Berair, Louis, fur-trade employee, 154.
Berçier, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 154.
Bergeron, ——, fur trader, 27.
Berlin (Wis.), 269.
Bernese, in Green county, 368.
Berry, Rev. William, 181.
Berthaume, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 154.
Berthaume, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 154.
Berthaume, Thomas, fur-trade employee, 154, 168.
Berthelot, ——, fur trader, 165.
Berthiammi, ——, voyageur, 93.
Beudrin, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 154.

Beunoit, François, fur-trade employee, 154.
Bibeau, Louis, fur-trade employee, 154.
Biddle, Maj. John, Indian agent, 271, 456.
Big Duck, Winnebago chief, 192.
Big Foot, Pottawattomie chief, 229, 231.
Big Hawk, Winnebago chief, 413, 414, 416–418.
Big Hawk, Jasper, son of foregoing, 418.
Big Soldier, Menomonee chief, 193, 197, 198, 200, 277.
Bilten (Switzerland), emigration from, 368, 371.
Binette, Louis, fur-trade employee, 154.
Bingham, Abel, Baptist missionary, 183, 443.
Bizayon, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 154.
Black Creek Falls, founded, 332.
Black Hawk, Sac leader, in war of 1812-15, 141, 142, 145, 147, 220, 221; "Story of the Black Hawk War," 216–265; capture of Black Hawk, 430, 431; his *Autobiography*, 217, 220, 222, 223, 225, 227, 228, 231, 233, 236, 238, 239, 253, 255, 257, 260, 263.
Black Hawk, a Winnebago, 430, 431.
Black river (Ohio), 203.
Black river (Wis.), Winnebagoes on, 412, 413, 431; sought by Menard, 435.
Black River Falls, Winnebagoes at, 399, 412, 416, 417, 420, 425, 429–431.
Blacksnake, Governor, Seneca chief, 6.
Black Wolf, Winnebago chief, 192, 212, 428, 429.
Blake, ——, steamboat captain, 203.
Blanchard, Rufus, *History of Illinois*, 217.
Blatchford, Henry, half-breed missionary, 446, 452.
Blondeau, ——, Indian interpreter, 61, 63, 67–69.
Blondeau, Barthelemi, assaults an Indian, 96.
Blondeau, Maurice, fur-trade employee, 154.
Blondin, Jean, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bloomington (Ill.), Swiss at, 346.
Blue Earth county (Minn.), Winnebagoes in, 409.
Blue Mounds, in Black Hawk war, 232, 243–245, 256.
Blue River, Winnebagoes at, 416.
Blue Wing, a Winnebago, 429.
Blumer, Cosmos, assists Swiss emigrants, 351.
Blumer, J. J., physician, 376.
Blumer, Dr. S., brewer, 375, 376.
Blumer, William H., aids Swiss immigrants, 344–346, 357.
Bluntschli, *Staats-Wörterbuch*, 307, 308, 311.
Bohemians, in Wisconsin, 299.
Boilvin, Nicholas, American Indian agent, 144.
Bolton, Mason, British officer, 46; letter from Carleton, 47.
Bon, David, sheriff, 414.
Bonga, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bonjour, ——, early druggist, 376.
Bonneterre, Augustin, Green Bay settler, 127.
Boone, Daniel, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 6; proposed biography of, 9, 10, 15, 20.
Bornai, Louis, fur-trade employee, 156.
Boscobel, Winnebagoes at, 416.
Boston, Germans in, 309.
Bouche, Bazil, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bouché, Moumbourne, in employ of Spanish, 66.
Boucher, François, fur-trade employee, 156.
Boucher, François, Jr., fur-trade employee, 156.
Boucher, Touissant, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bouchie, Joseph, Green Bay settler, 130.
Bourassa, Alexander, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bourassa, Eloy, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bourassa, Leon, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bourdeau, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bourdeau, François, fur-trade employee, 156.
Bourdinon, Paul, fur-trade employee, 156.
Boutellier, Francis, favors English, 151.
Bouthillier, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 156.
Boutwell, William Thurston, missionary at La Pointe, 444, 445.
Bowyer, Capt. George P., 293.
Bowyer, John, patron of Green Bay schools, 454, 455.
Boyd, Catherine Ann, 269, 274, 275.
Boyd, Charles S., Illinois pioneer, 228.
Boyd, George, father of Indian Agent Boyd, 266.
Boyd, George (2d), Indian Agent. "Paper of Indian Agent Boyd," 266–298; letters to Atkinson, 270, 284; to Porter, 273, 275, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293; to Brooke, 273; to Whitney, 274; to Stambaugh's staff, 281; to New York Indians, 281; to Stambaugh, 282, 290; to Cass, 286; to Clark, 285, 290; sketch, 266–269.
Boyd, George (3d), son of foregoing, 279, 280, 298.
Boyd, Mrs. George, wife of Indian agent, 267.

Boyd, James M., son of George (2d), in Black Hawk war, 279, 293, 294, 298; sketch, 266–269.
Boyd, John, son of James M., 269.
Boyd, John Quincy Adams, son of George (2d), 298.
Boyd, Joshua, son of James M., 269.
Boyd, Joshua Johnson, son of George (2d), 268, 269, 295.
Boyd, N. C. B., son of James M., 269.
Boyd, Robert D., brother of George (2d), 267.
Boyd, Robert Dundass, son of George (2d), 269.
Boyd, Thomas Alexander Brooks, son of George (2d), 269.
Boyd, Walter, uncle of George (2d), 266, 267.
Boyd, William Henry Crawford, son of George (2d), 269.
Boyd's Grove (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 228.
Bradbury, John, *Travels in the Interior of America*, 138.
Brady, Hugh, in war of 1812–15, 6, 9; in Black Hawk war, 256.
Brandenburg (Germany), emigration from, 324.
Brant, Joseph, Mohawk chief, 6, 27.
Brater, ——, *Staats-Wörterbuch*, 307, 308, 311.
Brave. *See* Oshkosh.
Bread, Daniel, Oneida chief, 192, 198.
Breakabeen (N. Y.), 170.
Brebant, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 156.
Brehm, Diedrich, British officer, 56; letter from Robertson, 65.
Bremen (Germany), emigration from, 320.
Brevoort, Maj. Henry B., Indian agent, 213, 271.
Brisbois, B. W., fur trader, 21, 410, 412.
Brisbois, Gabriel, nephew of B. W., 412.
Brisbois, Michael, favors English, 151.
Brock, Sir Isaac, president of Upper Canada, 139, 141.
Brooke, Gen. George M., letter from Boyd, 273.
Brothertown Indians, in council of 1830, 191, 192, 204, 214; Boyd's agency, 268.
Brouillard, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 156.
Brousseau, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 156.
Brown, J. B. W., patron of Green Bay school, 460.
Browning, ——, early merchant, 180.
Bruce, Thomas, British officer, letter to, 37.
Brucker, Joseph, induces German immigration, 333.
Brunelle, Louis, fur-trade employee, 156.
Brunette, Dominique, Green Bay settler, 127.
Brunets, François, fur-trade employee, 156.
Brunson, Lucy, mission teacher, 405, 406.
Brunson, Minerva, mission teacher, 405, 406.
Brush, Mrs. Platt, 179.
Brymner, Douglas, cited, 111.
Buckley, Cornelius, cited, 247, 262.
Buffalo, hunted by Sioux, 81; destroyed by British, 150; dance by Winnebagoes, 423.
Buffalo (N. Y.), 177, 178, 345.
Buffalo county, German immigration to, 323, 327.
Buffalo Grove (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 232.
Buisson, Louis, fur-trade employee, 151, 156.
Bulger, A., English officer, 126–131; proclaims martial law in Wisconsin, 132.
Bullock, Capt. Richard, English officer, 111, 124, 125, 149; letter to Proctor, 108; to Freer, 110; to Loring, 112.
"Bunker Hill," early lake steamer, 345.
Bureau creek (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229.
Burlington (Iowa), 262; *Gazette*, 263; Wisconsin legislature at, 383–387.
Burns & Son, publishers for Draper, 21.
Burr, Aaron, kills Hamilton, 270.
Burr Oak Grove (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 244.
Butler, Col. ——, English officer, 151.
Butler, John, English officer, 84.
Butte des Mortes (Grand), fur-trade at, 295; treaty of 1827, 172, 191, 195, 197, 204, 207, 289; visited by McCall, 187; in Black Hawk war, 285.
Butte des Morts (Petit), 196, 204, 205.
Butterfield, Consul W., literary partner of L. C. Draper, 15, 22; *History of University of Wisconsin*, 321.
Byrne, Capt. Michael, British officer, 83–85 90, 94.
Byron (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 231.

Cadeau, ——, fur trader, 441.
Cadieu, Amable, fur-trade employee, 156.
Cadieu, Michel, fur-trade employee, 156.
Cadillac, La Mothe, founds Detroit, 438.
Cadott, Jean Baptiste, fur trader, 61, 63, 67–69, 81, 93, 440, 441.
Cadott, Michel, fur trader, 440, 441.

Cadotte, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 156.
Cadrieu, Amable fur-trade employee, 168.
Caldwell, Billy, Pottawattomie chief, 221.
Caldwell, John, British officer, letter to, 39.
Caledonia (Columbia county), 400, 412.
California, 270, 371, 369.
Calumet county, German immigration to, 315, 326.
Calvé, Joseph, Indian interpreter, 66–68; letter to Haldimand, 51.
Cameron, ——, fur trader, 137.
Campbell, Col. ——, British officer, 67.
Campbell, David, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Campbell, Duncan, fur-trade employee, 156.
Campbell, James, English officer, 114, 115.
Campbell, John, assaults an Indian, 96.
Campbell, Mrs. John, ndian interpreter, 442.
Campbell, Scott, fur-trade employee, 156.
Campbell, W. W., *Annals of Tyron County, N. Y.*, 3.
Campion, Etienne, assaults an Indian, 97.
Canada, historical archives, 23; operations in the northwest (1767–1814), 23–132, 133–153; Germans in, 312.
Canadian Fencible Infantry, 110.
Canard river, engagement on, 141.
Canfield, William H., *Outline Sketches of Sauk County*, 326.
Capucin, ——, fur trader, 27.
Caramaunee. *See* Kayrahmaunee.
Cardin, Louis, voyageur, 93.
Cardinal, J. M., settler at Prairie du Chien, 92.
Cardinal, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 156.
Carleton, Guy, governor of Canada, 41, 47, 49; letter to Johnson, 23; to Sutton, 33; from De Peyster, 44; from Hamilton, 45; to De Peyster, 46; to Bolton, 47.
Carolinas, Revolutionary war in the, 14.
Carondelet, Baron de, correspondence with English, 135.
Carpenter house (Portage), 400, 431.
Carron, Menomonee chief, 193.
Carroll of Carrollton, Charles, a "signer," 3, 20.
Cash, ——, removes Winnebagoes, 414.
Cass, Lewis, governor of Michigan Territory, 3, 199, 201, 207, 212, 289; at treaty of 1827 172, 179–181, 195; letter from Boyd, 286.
Cassel (Germany), emigration from, 320.
Cassville, in Black Hawk war, 232, 279.
Cataraquoi, fur trade at, 75.
Catawba Indians, Draper among the, 6.
Catfish river, in Black Hawk war, 252, 253.
Catholics, in Wisconsin, 323, 324, 326, 370, 400, 432, 433, 438, 443–446, 452; at Kaskaskia, 406; mentioned by McCall, 208.
Century Magazine, 300.
Cerro Gordo, battle of, 234.
Cincinnati, Germans in, 309; Swiss in, 356.
Chaboiley, Charles, Indian trader, 78, 82.
Chaboilliez, F., Indian trader, 78
Chaboillez, Charles. *See* Chaboiley.
Chabouilloz, ——, Indian interpreter, 98.
Chachipkaka (War Eagle), Winnebago chief, 409.
Chadronet, ——, English Indian agent, 148.
Chætar, a Winnebago, 261.
Chamberlin, Thomas C., cited, 313.
Chamberlain, J. E., cited, 300.
Champion, ——, English officer, 57.
Chance, David R., territorial legislator, 383.
Chantiloux, Louis, fur-trade employee, 156.
Chapeau, Solomon, fur-trade employee, 15 6.
Chappeau (or Chappieu), Stanislaus, fur trader, 295, 458, 459.
Charette, Mad. (wife), fur-trade employee, 156.
Charette, Simon, fur-trade employee, 156.
Charland, Germain, fur-trade employee, 156.
Charlebois, André, fur-trade employee, 156.
Charlton, Edward, British officer, letter from England, 96.
Charon, Pierre, Green Bay settler, 129.
Charpantier, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 156.
Charpantier, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 156, 168. (Apparently differe nt men.)
Cheaks, Jacob, Stockbridge chief, 192.
Chenier, Ignace, fur-trade employee, 156.
Chequamegon bay, origin of name, 391, 434, 435; in Revolutionary war, 68; missions on, 434–452; Chippewas on, 440; fur trade o n, 440–442.
Chevalier, Amable, Ottawa chief, 141, 142.
Chevalier, Baptiste, voyageur, 93; Gree n Bay settler, 127.
Chevalier, Louis, French fur trader, 44, 45.
Chevallier, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 156.
Chevallier, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 156.
Chew, Joseph, English superintendent of Indian affairs, 98; letter from Doyle, 99; from Duggan, 101.

Chicago, 8, 270, 400; English fur trade at, 138; American fur trade, 166; in war of 1812-1815, 110, 142–146; in Black Hawk war, 229, 232, 261, 272; early mission, 443; Germans in, 301, 302, 328; Swiss in, 345; *Times*, 414.
Chicago river, English fur trade on, 43, 134.
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, 336, 376, 377.
Chickasaw Indians, Draper among the, 6.
Childs, Ebenezer, hangs a murderer, 189; in Black Hawk war, 277; patron of Green Bay school, 465.
Chipman, Judge ——, 181.
Chippawa (Ontario), 133, 153.
Chippewa county, public lands in, 321.
Chippewa Indians, 295; origin of name, 391, 439; arrival at Chequamegon bay, 440; visited by Radisson and Groseilliers, 434, 435; connection with English fur trade, 78–82, 85–88, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 100, 104, 135, 138, 146, 148, 150; in Revolutionary war, 45, 50, 60, 67–69; at treaty of 1827, 172, 289; at council of 1830, 188, 190, 200; in Black Hawk war, 227, 297; in War of Secession, 450; missions among, 434, 439, 441–452; Scripture translations for, 443, 444, 446; relations with Winnebagoes, 407, 409, 422, 426; "Geographical names in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, having a Chippewa origin," 390–398.
Chippewa river, origin of name, 391; English fur trade on, 79.
Christie, John, British officer, 34–36.
Christineaux. *See* Crees.
Christy, Philip, fur-trade employee, 158.
Chrysler's Farm, battle of, 150.
Churches in Wisconsin. *See* Baptists, Catholics, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Evangelical Association, German Evangelical, German Reformed, Methodists, Old Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Swiss Reformed.
Churchill, Norman, assists Swiss immigrants, 366.
Clairmont, Jeremie, fur-trade employee, 158.
Clark, Gen. Geo. Rogers, conquest of the Northwest, 6; designs on Detroit, 50; MS. journal of, 7; Draper on, 9, 17, 20, 22.
Clark, Henry, patron of Green Bay school, 460.
Clark, Rev. John, authority on Chippewa orthography, 434, 435, 452.
Clark, L., patron of Green Bay school, 465.
Clark, Capt. Nathan, commandant at Fort Howard, 277, 279, 284; letters from Boyd, 285, 290; from Plymton, 287.
Clark, P., patron of Green Bay school, 460.
Clark, William, governor of Missouri, 115, 116; in war of 1812–15, 145, 152.
Clark county, public lands in, 321.
Clarke & Co., James, Territorial printers, 384–389.
Clarke & Co., Robert, publishers for Draper, 15, 21.
Clarno (Green county), Swiss at, 368.
Claus, Daniel, British officer, 28, 105, 145; letters from Robertson, 66, 68.
Clay, Henry, seen by Draper, 6.
Clements, Laurent, fur-trade employee, 158
Cleveland, Col. Benjamin, a hero of King's Mountain, 6.
Climate of Wisconsin, 315–318, 326, 333, 349.
Clinton, DeWitt, seen by Draper, 3.
Cloutier, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 158.
Clowes, George, British officer, letter from Phillips, 49.
Coates, John, British commissary, 60, 61.
Cochinneau, Pierre, Green Bay settler, 130.
Coffins, ——, English military secretary, 99.
Colby, Charles, induces German immigration, 329.
Cole, Theodore Lee, "A Rare Wisconsin Book," 383–389.
Coltern, ——, army chaplain, 200.
Columbia (Pa.), Swiss at, 355, 361.
Columbia county (N. Y.), 170.
Columbia county (Wis.), 400, 413; *History of*, 399–402, 432.
Come, Theodore, fur-trade employee, 158.
Comfort, A. W., early surveyor, 375.
Como (Ill.), Swiss at, 347.
Comptois, Etienne, fur-trade employee, 158.
Congregationalists, in Wisconsin, 434, 442–452.
Conner, ——, Indian interpreter, 188, 191, 192.
Constitutional conventions of Wisconsin, electoral franchise in, 314.
Cook, James, fur-trade employee, 158.
Copper, prehistoric implements of, 21; English mining of, 37, 38.
Copper river, Menard at, 435.
Corbeau. *See* Little Crow.
Corbin, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 158.
Coteau de Nicholas, fur-trade employee 158.
Cottage Grove, in Black Hawk war, 251.

Cotte, Etienne, fur-trade employee, 158.
Cotte, G., fur trader, 82.
Cotte, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 158.
Cotte, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 168.
Cotti, ——, Indian trader, 78.
Cottren, ——, pioneer preacher, 184.
Couche, Edward, English commissary-general, 148.
Coune, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 158.
Courchene, Michel, fur-trade employee, 158.
Courtoreille, Michel, fur-trade employee, 158.
Court Oreilles. *See* Ottawa Indians.
Courtes Oreilles (Wis.), reservation at, 390.
Cousineau, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 158.
Cowan, ——, early teacher, 374.
Cox, ——, early traveler, 185.
Cramer, Frank, 299.
Crane, Mrs. O. H., 184.
Crawford, Lewis, English Indian agent, 111.
Crawford, Col. William, Indian fighter, 6, 9.
Crawford County, History of, 400, 402, 403.
Cree Indians, British fur trade with, 28.
Creek Indians, Draper with, 3, 6, 7; relations with Winnebagoes, 410.
Crelie, Joseph, probable age of, 400, 401.
Cranberry lake. *See* Lake Horicon.
Croffut, W. A., literary partner of Draper, 13, 21.
Croghan, Col. George, expedition against Mackinaw, 152.
Croghan, Dr. John, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Crook creek (Dak.), Winnebagoes on, 405.
Crooks, Ramsey, trans-continental expedition, 445.
Crow Indians, relations with Winnebagoes, 410.
Crow Wing (Minn.), 447.
Cruikshank, Ernest Alexander, "Robert Dickson, the Indian Trader," 133; cited, 221.
Cruickshanks, Robert, Indian trader, 78.
Cry, Dr. ——, 179.
Cumberland Presbyterian. *See* Presbyterian.
Cunningham's island, 203.
Curtiss, D., early Green Bay teacher, letter to Irwin, Grignon, and Rouse, 461; to Lawe, 462.

Dabin, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 158,
Dad Joe's grove (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 228.
Dahkotah Indians. *See* Sioux.
Dakota, Winnebagoes in, 405, 410.
Dakota county (Nebr.), Winnebagoes in, 410.
Dames, Wilhelm, *Wie Sieht es in Wisconsin Aus?* 316, 326.
Dane county, German immigration to, 325; Swiss immigration to, 338.
Danville (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
Dartmouth (Lord), letter to, 38.
Daumont, Simon Francis. *See* St. Lusson.
Daunai, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 158.
Davidson, Alexander, *Complete History of Illinois*, 217.
Davidson, John Nelson, "Missions on Chequamegon Bay," 434–452.
Davis, ——, pioneer preacher, 180, 184.
Davis, Jefferson, in Black Hawk war, 234, 262.
Davis, John H., fur-trade employee, 158.
Davis county (Iowa), 262.
Davis family, killed by Indians, 241, 242.
Dean, James, patron of Green Bay schools, 454.
Dean, Thomas, settler at Kaukauna, 205.
Dease, Capt. Francis Michael, in capture of Prairie du Chien, 152.
Dease, John, English officer, 84, 89–91, 93, 94; letter from Sir John Johnson, 83.
Death's Door (Green bay), 202.
De Beaujeu, Daneil Lienard, Draper's sketch of, 21.
De Boucherville, Col. ——, English officer, 145.
Decharme. *See* Ducharme.
Dechenaux, Joseph C., fur-trade employee, 158.
Decheneau, Louis, fur-trade employee, 158.
Decorah, Doctor, Winnebago medicine man, 425, 427, 430.
Decorah, Four Deer, Winnebago orator, 430.
Decorah, Gray-headed, Winnebago chief, 429.
Decorah, Little, a Winnebago, 429.
Decorah, One-eyed, a Winnebago, 261, 430, 431.
Decorah, Spoon, a Winnebago, 399, 425, 429, 430.
Deer island, British post at, 48.
De Haas, Carl, *Winke für Auswanderer*, 315, 326.
Delaunais (Ill.), American fur trade at, 159.
Delaware county (N. Y.), 170.
Delaware Indians, in Revolutionary war, 45; in war of 1812–15, 144; sell land to New York Indians, 208; Draper with, 6.

Delaware river, pioneering on, 170, 171.
De Lignery, Sieur, Draper's sketch of, 21.
De Louvigny, Sieur, Draper's sketch of, 21.
Dement, Maj. John, in Black Hawk war, 243, 247.
Denau, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 158.
Deneau, Constant, fur-trade employee, 158.
Denison university. *See* Granville (Ohio).
Denny, Maj. ——, defeated by Indians, 141.
De Noyelle, Sieur, Draper's sketch of, 21.
De Peyster, Arent Schuyler, English commandant at Mackinaw, 54; unsigned letters to, 40, 46; unaddressed letter by, 41; letter to Carleton, 44; to Haldimand, 49, 53; from Carleton, 46.
Depere, 195, 269.
De Rottenburg, Gen. ——, investigates Dickson, 142.
Deschamps, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 158.
Deschamps, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 158.
Desjardin, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 168.
Des Moines river (Iowa), 228, 262.
Desormier, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 158.
Des Plaines river, American fur trade on, 167.
Detroit, 269, 272, 274, 275, 441; founded by Cadillac, 438; English fur trade at, 27, 71–76, 83, 99; Rogers's intrigue against, 35; in Revolutionary war, 42–45. 48, 50, 53, 57, 59, 60, 64, 66, 69; in war of 1812–15, 140, 142–148, 150; visited by McCall, 178–182, 203, 207; in Black Hawk war, 223, 261.
Deuster, P. V., cited, 299.
Devil Creek (near Green Bay), 200.
De Villiers, Neyon, Draper's sketch of, 21.
Dewitt, Col. Abraham B., in Black Hawk war, 233.
Dexterville (Iowa), 408.
Dick, William, Brothertown chief, 192
Dickson, Robert, English Indian agent, 108–110, 113, 114, 116, 119–121, 123–125; letter to Freer, 111; from Glegg, 139; to Glegg, 140; court of inquiry, 126–131; memoir by Cruikshank, 133–153.
Dickson, Thomas, brother of Robert, 133.
Dickson, William, brother of Robert, 133.
Dixon (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 228, 229, 232, 235, 238, 240, 244, 246, 249; Swiss at, 345, 346.
Dixon, John, Illinois pioneer, 228.
"Di Vernon," Mississippi river steamer, 346.
Doant, Etienne, fur-trade employee, 158.
Dobie, Richard, fur trader, 78, 82.
Doddridge, Joseph, western historian, 4.
Dodds, S. J., 244.
Dodge, Henry, 271; in Black Hawk war, 232, 243–251, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260; connection with Territorial printing, 386.
Dodge, James, fur-trade employee, 158.
Dodge county (Minn.), Swiss in, 369.
Dodge county (Wis.), German immigration to, 324.
Dodgeville, in Black Hawk war, 229, 232, 245.
Domschke, Bernhard, induces German immigration, 328.
Dorchester (Lord), governor of Canada, 91.
Dorion, Sr., fur-trade employee, 158.
Dorion, Battis, Jr., fur-trade employee, 158.
Doty, James Duane, built first frame house in Green Bay, 276; in Indian council of 1830, 198, 211; patron of Navarino school, 465.
Doty's island, Indian council on, 187–189.
Dousman, H. L., administers Paquette's estate, 402, 403, 405, 406.
Doyle, William, British officer, 97; letter to England, 97; to Chew, 99.
Drake, Benjamin, *Life and Adventures of Black Hawk*, 217.
Drake, Daniel, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Drake, Samuel G., knew Draper, 9.
Draper, Luke, father of Lyman, 2, 3.
Draper, Lyman Copeland, Memoir of, 1–19; bibliography, 20–22; cited, 177, 271, 435.
Dresden (Saxony), emigration from, 329.
Drexel, Miss Catherine, supports Catholic mission, 452.
Drummond, Sir George Gordon, English officer, 112, 113; letters to Prevost, 117, 118.
Drummond, Capt. Peter, letter to Green, 104.
Drummond island, American fur trade at, 160, 162, 164, 167; in 1830, 182, 183.
Dubois, Luc, fur-trade employee, 158.
Dubuisson, Sieur, Draper's sketch of, 21.
Dubuque (Iowa), 234, 271.
Ducharme, Joseph, Green Bay settler, 129.
Ducharme, Paul, Green Bay settler, 127.
Duchene, Jos., fur-trade employee, 158.
Duchene, Jos., Jr., fur-trade employee, 158.
Duck, Winnebago chief, 188.
Duck creek, 197, 199, 202, 204, 214, 295.
Duerst, Balthasar, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Duerst, Mathias, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 352, 355–358, 367, 381, 382.
Duerst, Nicholas, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 342–345, 347, 357, 359, 360, 365, 366, 381.

Duerst, Miss Salome, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 352.
Dufauet, Jos., fur-trade employee, 158.
Dufaust, Louis, fur-trade employee, 158.
Dufrene, Philip, fur-trade employee, 158.
Duggan, Thomas, letter to Chew, 101.
Dulude, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 158.
Dunmore (Lord), governor of Virginia, 48.
Dunn county, public lands in, 321.
Dunn, Thomas, British paymaster, 50.
Duplaine, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 160.
Dupuis, Louis, fur-trade employee, 158.
Durant, Bazil, fur-trade employee, 160.
Durocher, André, fur-trade employee, 160.
Durocher, John Baptiste, Indian trader, 78.
Durrie, Daniel S., services as librarian, 12; his *Public Domain*, 322.
Dutch Reformed church, 452.
Dyde, John, fur-trade employee, 160.
Dye, Elizabeth, marries James McCall, 171.

Eacker, ——, kills Philip Hamilton, 270.
Early, Capt. Jacob M., in Black Hawk war, 242.
Easton (Pa.), Swiss at, 345.
Eaton, John H., secretary of war, 178, 292; letter to Wisconsin Indian commission, 172; letter from Hobbie, 206.
Eau Plaine river, Winnebagoes on, 412.
Ebert, Jacques, fur-trade employee, 160.
Eccyer. *See* Ecuyer.
Ecuyer, Madame ——, Green Bay settler, 129.
Education, early schools at La Pointe, 442–452; at Green Bay, 453–465; in Illinois, 230; Wisconsin's school lands, 321, 322; schools at New Glarus, 337, 344, 373, 374; Draper's services for Wisconsin schools, 12, 13, 20–22.
Edwards, ——, Michigan legislator, 181.
Edwards, James G., Territorial printer, 384–388.
Edwards, Ninian, governor of Illinois Territory, 138–151.
Egger, F., pioneer Swiss immigrant, 381.
Eickhoff, Anton, *In der neuen Heimath*, 301, 315, 326.
Elberfeld (Germany), 315.
Eldon (Iowa), 262.
Elk Grove, in Black Hawk war, 232.
Elk river, English fur trade on, 137.
Ellice & Co., Robert, fur traders, 78.
Elliott, ——, English Indian leader, 147.
Ellis, Albert G., on McCall's Journal, 177; early surveyor, 197, 202.
Ellis, Dr. Edwin, on Wheeler's mission, 447–449.
Elmer family, origin of name, 337.
Elmer, F. Jenny, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 381.
Ely, Richard T., *Labor Movement*, 307.
"Empire," Hudson river steamer, 345.
Encking, Charles L., on German immigration, 318.
England, Richard, British officer, 99; letter from Charlton, 96; from Doyle, 97; from Wilkinson, 100.
Elroy, fur trade near, 410.
Episcopalians, mentioned by McCall, 180, 190.
Erie canal, 2, 312.
Ernst, ——, early teacher, 374.
Escabia Indians, 86.
Escanaba (Mich.), origin of name, 391.
Etter, John T., pastor of New Glarus, 372.
Eustis, William, secretary of war, 267.
Evangelical Association, 372, 373.
Everest, Kate Asaphine, "How Wisconsin came by its large German element," 299–334.
Everitt, Judge ——, 179.
Ewing, Col. W. L. D., in Black Hawk war, 249, 252, 254, 259.
Exeter, Swiss at, 347, 364, 365.

Faille, Louis, fur-trade employee, 160.
Fairbanks, John H, fur-trade employee, 160.
Fairfield (Iowa), Swiss in, 346.
Fairveau, Simon, fur-trade employee, 160.
Falls of St. Anthony, English fur trade at, 81, 87.
Fallstraw, Jacob, fur-trade employee, 16.
Farnham, R., fur trader, 159–161, 167, 169.
Farnsworth, W., fur trader, 160, 458, 459; patron of Green Bay school, 465.
Farwell, Leonard J., a founder of State Historical Society, 11; "booms" Madison, 14.
Fauerbach, Peter, 252.
Fearson, William, 295.
Felix, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 160.
Feltcan, Augustin, blacksmith at Mackinaw, 61.
Fennai, Le François, fur-trade employee, 160.

Fenton, David G., pioneer judge, 269.
Fillion, Jean, fur-trade employee, 160.
Finch, ——, British artilleryman, 35, 36.
Finlay, John, fur trader, 78.
First Lake. *See* Lake Kegonsa.
Flamand, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 160.
Fleischman, ——, on American climate, 315.
Fleming, Col. William, diary of, 7.
Fletcher, J. E., Winnebago agent, 407, 409, 432.
Flint, Timothy, early western historian, 4.
Florida (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
Foise, Louis, fur-trade employee, 160.
Foley, John, member of Territorial council, 383.
Folleavoine river. *See* Menomonee river.
Fonda, John H., cited, 257.
Fond du Lac (of Lake Superior), 138, 444, 448; English fur trade at, 82; American fur trade at, 155–157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167–169.
Fond du Lac (Wis.), 189, 331, 403.
Fond du Lac county, German immigration to, 316.
Ford, Samuel, British officer, letter from Gautier de Verville, 57.
Ford, Gov. Thomas, *History of Illinois*, 217, 220, 221, 256.
Forman, Samuel S., *Journey down the Ohio and Mississippi*, 15, 21.
Forsin, George, Green Bay settler, 128.
Fort Armstrong, in Black Hawk war, 223, 232, 234, 261, 262, 288. *See* also, Rock Island.
Fort Atkinson, in Black Hawk war, 250.
Fort Clark. *See* Peoria.
Fort Crawford. *See* Prairie du Chien.
Fort Dearborn. *See* Chicago.
Fort Defiance, in Black Hawk war, 232.
Fort Erie, English fur trade at, 75, 105.
Fort George, in war of 1812–15, 110.
Fort Gratiot, 152, 182.
Fort Hamilton, in Black Hawk war, 247, 249.
Fort Holmes (Mackinaw), 183, 184.
Fort Howard, mentioned by McCall, 200, 202; in Black Hawk war, 229, 281, 282, 287, 296.
Fort Jackson. *See* Mineral Point.
Fort Leavenworth, 234.
Fort McKay. *See* Prairie du Chien.
Fort Madison, in war of 1812–15, 141, 149; in Black Hawk war, 228, 231.
Fort Madison (Iowa town), Territorial printing at, 385.
Fort Meigs, in war of 1812–15, 145, 147.
Fort Niagara, English fur trade at, 75, 83, 99, 133; in war of 1812–15, 143, 145, 146, 148, 150.
Fort Schuyler, St. Leger's expedition against, 28.
Fort Shelby. *See* Prairie du Chien.
Fort Snelling, 274, 414.
Fort Stephenson, in war of 1812–15, 147.
Fort Sumter, 234.
Fort Union. *See* Dodgeville.
Fort Willburn (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 232, 246.
Fort William, English fur trade at, 138, 141.
Fort Winnebago. *See* Portage.
Fortress Monroe, Black Hawk at, 220, 262.
Four-mile creek, in war of 1812–15, 110.
Fourth lake. *See* Lake Mendota.
Four Lake country, in Black Hawk war, 245–253, 264.
Fox Indians, origin of name, 396, 439; in Revolutionary war, 45, 50, 51, 60, 63, 67; connection with English fur trade, 78, 80–82, 85, 87, 88, 90, 92, 106, 107; in war of 1812–15, 116, 144, 146; in Black Hawk war, 216–265, 279, 282, 288.
Fox island, 202.
Four-Legs. *See* Hootschope.
Fox river (Ill.), 218.
Fox river (Wis.), 269, 274, 312; Mascoutins on, 394; Joliet and Marquette on, 437; Radisson and Groseilliers on, 437, 438; English fur trade on, 80, 84, 134, 135, 137, 139; in war of 1812–15, 151; treaty of 1827, 172; commission of 1830, 184–215; in Black Hawk war, 229, 249; as a boundary, 208, 211, 212; German settlers on, 326, 327, 331; Winnebagoes on, 413; at Portage, 399, 401.
Fox's bluff (Lake Mendota), 245.
Foy, Capt. Edward, letter to Knox, 48.
"Francis," British sloop, 105.
Franciscan missionaries, in Wisconsin, 390.
Franklin house (Portage), 401.
Franks, Jacob, Green Bay settler, 130, 151; patron of Green Bay schools, 457, 459.
Freer, Capt. Noah, English officer, 149; relations with Dickson, 143; letter from Bullock, 110.
French, relations with British in Northwest (1767–1814), 23–132.
French river, English fur trade on, 136.
Frenier, François, fur-trade employee, 160.
Frenier, Jacques, fur trader, 94.
Freuler, John, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 358.

Frey, Joshua, assists Swiss immigrants, 345, 347.
Friendship, Winnebagoes near, 413, 416.
Frobisher, Benjamin, fur trader, 76, 78.
Frobisher, Joseph, fur trader, 76, 78, 82.
Frobisiere, ——, English officer, 35, 36.
Fry, Col. Jacob, in Black Hawk war, 233
Frye, Col. Henry, in Black Hawk war, 241, 246, 253.
Fullerton, David, English soldier, 34–37.
Fur trade by English in the Northwest, 23–132; Dickson's relations to, 133–153; "American Fur Company Employees (1818–19)," 154–169; by H. M. Rice, 406; by the Paquettes, 401, 402, 406, 410–412; in Wisconsin generally, 420–422; on Madelaine island, 440–442; licenses by Agent Boyd, 295.

"Gage," English schooner, 71.
Gage, Gen. Thomas, English commander-in-chief, 26.
Gaines, Gen. Edmund P., in Black Hawk war, 226.
Galena (Ill.), 270; in Black Hawk war, 228, 229, 232, 243, 245–247, 249, 288; Germans at, 327; Swiss at, 346, 358–361, 367.
Gambling, among Winnebagoes, 422, 425, 426.
Gardipi, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 160.
Gardner, ——, an Indian, 186.
Garrupy, Alexis, Green Bay settler, 127.
Gasconade county (Mo.), 306.
Gauthier, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 160.
Gauthier, Victoire, fur-trade employee, 160.
Gautier, Charles. *See* Verville.
Geffcken, Frederick Heinrich, on German emigration, 325.
Gendron, François, fur-trade employee, 160.
Genereux, Louis, fur-trade employee, 160.
George, Charles, assists Swiss immigrants, 366.
Georgetown (D. C.), 268.
Gerard, Augustin, fur-trade employee, 160.
Germans, in Switzerland, 337; in Wisconsin, 299–334, 359; German Evangelical church, 333; German Reformed church, 324, 325.
Gervais, Amable, fur-trade employee, 160.
Ghent, treaty of, 221.
Giason, ——, 92.
Giere, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 160.
Gigaire, ——, voyageur, 93.
Giles, Hiram H., on Wisconsin railroads, 331.
Gilman (N. H.), 274.
Gilmore, ——, English commissary, 110.
Ginereth, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 160.
Girty, Mike, English Indian agent, 231, 242.
Gladwyn, Henry, English officer, 24.
Glarus (Switzerland), emigration from. *See* New Glarus.
Glass, Joseph, patron of Green Bay school, 460.
Glegg, Capt, J. B., 142; letter to Dickson, 139; from Dickson, 140.
Goddard, James Stanley, 69; letter to Robertson, 64.
Goddin, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 160.
Goké, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 160.
Goldmann, D. ——, German pastor, 316.
Goldmann, Freimund, induces German immigration, 316, 326.
Goodvillage, George, a Winnebago, 413.
Gorbut, ——, 459.
Gordon (Wis.), 390.
Gordon (Gaudin), Antoine, authority on Chippewa orthography, 390, 393, 395, 398.
Gorham, ——, murdered by Hempstead, 189.
Gosselin, André, fur-trade employee, 160.
Gosselin, Augustin, fur trade employee, 160.
Gosselin, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 160.
Goulais, Charles, fur-trade employee, 160.
Goulais, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 160.
Grabau, J. A. A., German pastor, 325.
Graham, Duncan, English officer, 126–131, 151.
Grand Chute (on Fox river), 186.
Grand Portage (U. S. and Canada boundary), 444; English fur trade on, 28, 72–76, 136, 138; in Revolutionary war, 41–44, 46, 48.
Grand river (Canada). *See* Ottawa river.
Grand river (Mich.), in Revolutionary war, 50, 60, 66; American fur trade on, 155, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169.
Grant, ——, fur trader, 137.
Grant & Griffin, Indian traders, 78.
Grant, James, fur trader, 65.
Grant, Sutherland &, Indian traders, 78, 82.
Grant, William, Indian trader, 78, 82.
Grant county, German immigration to, 326.
Granville (Ohio), college at, 3, 4, 8, 13.
Gratiot, Charles, fur trader, 54, 55.
Gratiot, Henry, Indian agent in Black Hawk war, 233, 243, 244.
Gratiot's Grove, in Black Hawk war, 232.
Gravelle, Louis, Green Bay settler, 127.

Gray, Alexander, English attorney-general, 84.
Greeley, Horace, writes introduction for Draper, 21.
Green bay (arm of Lake Michigan), Marquette at, 437; fur trade on islands of, 295; Chippewas on, 440.
Green Bay (settlement), 270, 312, 384, 392; English fur trade at, 27, 40–44, 66, 79, 80, 84, 92, 93, 95, 134, 135; in Revolutionary war, 60, in war of 1812-15, 109, 113, 115, 119, 120, 124–131, 141, 142, 145, 146, 149, 151; treaty of 1822, 209; council of 1830, 170-215; "Early schools in," 453–465; in Black Hawk war, 255, 266–298; referred to by Paquette, 402, 403, 411; by Marryatt, 326; Germans at, 302, 319, 331; *State Gazette*, 266, 276.
Green, Charles P., legislative messenger, 384.
Green county, Swiss colony in. *See* New Glarus.
Green County Herald, 377.
Green Grass, a Winnebago, 429.
Green, Maj. James, English officer, letter from Drummond, 104; from Green, 105.
Green Lake county, German immigration to, 326; early military road, 331.
Greenwich (Canada), 179.
Greenwood, Theodore, assists Swiss immigrants, 366.
Gregoir, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 160.
Gregory & Maitland, fur traders, 78.
Grenier, François, fur-trade employee, 160.
Grenier, Nicolas, fur-trade employee, 160, 169.
Griffin, Grant &, fur traders, 78.
Grignon, ——, Indian interpreter, 193.
Grignon, Alexander, early Green Bay teacher, 464, 465.
Grignon, Amable, fur trader, 130, 295.
Grignon, Anthony, interpreter, 417.
Grignon, Augustine, fur trader, 185, 295; claim for damages, 129; in Black Hawk war, 275, 279, 281, 286; interviewed by Draper, 21.
Grignon brothers, favor English, 151.
Grignon, Charles A., in Black Hawk war, 279, 281, 293, 294.
Grignon family, McCall's strictures on, 198.
Grignon, Hypolite, Green Bay settler, 129.
Grignon, Lawe, and Porlier Papers, 453.
Grignon, Louis, fur trader, 295; in war of 1812–15, 109, 125, 126, 149; connection with Green Bay schools, 454–456, 459, 460, 464; letter from Curtis, 461; from Lawe, 464.
Grignon, Pierre, fur trader, 95, 129, 169, 458, 459; patron of Green Bay school, 461.
Grignon, Robert, in Black Hawk war, 279 281, 293, 294.
Grimma (Germany), 314.
Grizzly Bear, Menomonee chief, 198, 297.
Grobb, Jacob, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 351, 353
Grob, Paulus, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 357.
Groesbeck, ——, British officer, 29.
Groseilliers, Sieur des, at Chequamegon bay, 434, 435.
Gruet & La Framboise, fur traders, 98.
Guerguipet, Alexander, patron of Green Bay school, 454.
Guinand, ——, English merchant, 37.
Guripier, Alexander. *See* Guerguipet.
Gurnoe, M., authority on Chippewa orthography, 390, 391, 393, 395, 396.

Hærtel, Herman, immigration commissioner, 301, 220, 322.
Hagerman, Tunis, fur-trade employee, 160.
Halberstadt, Germany, emigration efforts at, 310.
Haldimand, Sir Frederick, governor of Canada, letters from De Peyster, 49, 53; from Calvé, 51; from Sinclair, 56; from Robertson, 69, 70; to Sinclair, 56, 58.
Hall, James, early western historian, 4.
Hall, Rachel, captured by Indians, 242, 243, 245.
Hall, Sherman, missionary at La Pointe, 442–448.
Hall, Sylvia, captured by Indians, 242, 243, 245.
Hall, William, killed by Indians, 242.
Hall, Gen. William, in the Creek war, 6.
Halleck, Maj. Walter F., takes Winnebago census, 417, 429.
Hamelin, ——, fur trader, 159.
Hamilton, Alexander, 270.
Hamilton, Mrs. Alexander, 270, 271.
Hamilton, F. F., trader, 269, 274, 275, 295, 296.
Hamilton, Henry, British lieutenant-governor, 45; expedition against Vincennes, 50; letter from Hay, 71; from McGill, 72.
Hamilton, Philip, 270, 271.
Hamilton, Samuel S., superintendent of Indian affairs, 176.
Hamilton, Robert, correspondent of Dickson, 134.

amilton, Capt. Schuyler, on William S. Hamilton, 271.
Hamilton, Col. William Stephen, in Black Hawk war, 232, 248, 270, 272, 273, 278, 282–284; sketch, 270.
Haney, Caroline, 403.
Hanging, early, at Green Bay, 189.
Hanover (Germany), emigration from, 325, 327.
Haraszthy, Count August, pioneer Hungarian colonist, 326.
Hare, Menomonee chief, 193.
Harris, Capt. D. S., 327.
Harrison, ——, friend of W. S. Hamilton, 271.
Harrison, William Henry, in war of 1812–15, 143; seen by Draper, 6.
Harmar, Josiah, proposed biography of, 9
Harney, Maj. William S., in Black Hawk war, 234.
Haskins, Charles Homer, professor in Wisconsin university, 299.
Hastings, ——, 181.
Hasse, C. E., on German immigration, 314, 315.
Hatley, Winnebagoes at, 417, 420.
Hawly, John G., fur-trade employee, 160.
Hawly, Samuel, fur-trade employee, 160.
Hay, John, English ensign, sent to the Illinois, 39.
Hay, John, British lieutenant-governor at Detroit, letter to Hamilton, 71.
Hay, John (Nicolay and Hay), *Abraham Lincoln*, 230.
Herbert, Nicolas, fur-trade employee, 162.
Hefti, Fridolin, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Heinzen, Karl, plans for a German state, 308, 309.
Helena (Old), in Black Hawk war, 256; shot-tower at, 274.
Hempstead, ——, hanged at Green Bay, 189.
Hennepin (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 232; Swiss at, 346.
Henni, John Martin, archbishop of Milwaukee, 324.
Henry, Alexander, fur trader, 78, 82, 440, 441.
Henry, Maj. James D., in Black Hawk war, 233, 241, 246, 248–251, 255–257, 259, 260.
"Henry Clay," pioneer steamboat, 178, 201.
Herbert, Augustin, fur-trade employee, 162
Hermann (Mo.), 306.
Hesse (Germany), emigration from, 304.
Hey (Hay), William, chief justice of Quebec, 33.
Hildebrandt, Dr. ——, induces German immigration, 320.
Hildreth, Richard, knew Draper, 9.
Hildreth, S. P., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Hillsborough (Lord), English secretary of state, 30, 37.
Hitt, Col. D. F., 244.
Hobbie, S. R., superintendent of Indian affairs, letter to Eaton, 206.
Holderman's grove (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229.
Hoesli, Fridolin, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Hoesli, Henry, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Hoesli, Marcus, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Hoesli, Matthew, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Hogarty, John, patron of Green Bay school, 465.
Hogel, John F., fur-trade employee, 162.
Hole-in-the-day, Draper's sketch of, 21.
Holliday, John, fur-trade employee, 162.
Hollidaysburg (Pa.), Swiss at, 355.
Holstein (Germany), emigration from, 327.
Holt, A., Indian trader, 95.
Holton, Amos, early Green Bay trader, 460, 461.
Holmes, Lieut. Theophilus H., in Black Hawk war, 258, 287, 288.
Hooe, Capt. Alexander S., at Portage, 401.
Hootschope, Winnebago chief, in council of 1830, 187, 192, 194–196, 211, 212.
Hope Henry, British officer, 65, 71; letter to Robertson, 61.
Hopkins, Joseph, intrigue with Robert Rogers, 30–37.
Horn, Fred W., immigration commissioner, 301, 320.
Hotley, John, fur-trade employee, 162.
Houlle, J., messenger from Lawe, 458.
Howard, Gen. Benjamin, built fort at Peoria, 149.
Howard, Joseph, fur trader, 28, 78.
Hoyt, Mrs. Catherine T., marries L. C. Draper, 11.
Hubbard, Gurdon S., fur-trade employee, 162.
Hübschmann, Franz, on electoral franchise, 314.

Hudson, Clement, fur-trade employee, 162.
Hudson bay, English fur trade on, 77, 137.
Hudson river, pioneering on, 170.
Hudson River seminary, 4.
Hull, William, tavern-keeper, 178.
Humboldt county (Iowa), Swiss in, 369.
Hunt, Capt. Charles A., removes Winnebagoes, 412–414, 418.
Hunt, George, letter to Lawe, 457,
Hunt, Helen, *A Century of Dishonor*, 410.
Hunt, William B., secretary to Wisconsin Indian commission, 177–179, 193; letter to McKenney, 206.
Hunter, Rufus, Indian agency employee, 294, 296.
Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, 312, 324.
Huron Indians, Jesuits among, 435-438; in Revolutionary war, 45.
Hustisford, in Black Hawk war, 248, 250.
Hyer, George, Draper's sketch of, 21.
Hyott, Prisque, Green Bay settler, 527.

Ignace, Antoine, British Indian agent, 60.
Iles, Capt. Elijah, in Black Hawk war, 242.
Illinois, 270; Rogers's intrigue with French, 35; in Revolutionary war, 39, 43, 54, 55; English fur trade in, 135; in war of 1812–15, 116, 145, 149; in Black Hawk war, 216–265; Germans in, 305, 311, 312, 314, 315, 319, 324, 327; Swiss in, 345–347, 357; Menard academy, 406.
Illinois Central railway, 376.
Illinois Indians, Marquette on, 437.
Illinois river, English fur trade on, 43, 77; American fur trade on, 155, 157, 159, 161–163, 165, 167, 169; as a boundary (1804), 218; in Black Hawk war, 228, 229, 232, 239; Germans on, 357.
Immigration to Wisconsin, Germans, 299–334; Swiss, 335–382. *See* also, the several nationalities.
Indian creek (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229, 241, 242.
Indiana, Illinois pioneers from, 229; Germans in, 311, 312, 314, 315, 317; suffrage in, 314, 319.
Indians, relations with the English, in Northwest, 23–132; "Robert Dickson, the Indian trader," 133-153; "American Fur Company's employees," 154–169; "McCall's Journal," 170–215; "Story of the Black Hawk war," 216–265; "Papers of India Agent Boyd," 266–298; "Chippewa geographical names," 390–398; "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes," 399–433; "Missions on Chequamegon bay," 434–452. *See* also, the several tribes.
Ingersoll, Justus, Indian agent, 178.
Iowa, under Wisconsin jurisdiction, 384–389; burial of Black Hawk, 262; Winnebagoes in, 405–408, 414, 428; Germans in, 300, 306, 311, 312, 314, 320; Swiss in, 346, 369; Historical and Geological Institute, 263.
Iowa City (Iowa), 262.
Irish, as immigrants, 306, 311.
Iroquois Indians, beset western Indians, 436; in French and Indian war, 23, 28; in Revolutionary war, 27, 45.
Iroquois river (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 240.
Irving, N., patron of Green Bay school, 465.
Irving, Washington, *Astoria*, 138, 445.
Irwin, Alexander J., fur trader, 295–297; in Black Hawk war, 277–279, 281, 282, 284.
Irwin, Robert, Jr., fur trader, 295–297; meets McCall, 179, 181; connection with Green Bay schools, 454, 455; letter to Lawe, 463.
Iserlohn (Germany), 315.
Ishpeming (Mich.), origin of name, 391.
Isle Royale (Lake Superior), origin of Chippewa name, 393.

Jackson, Andrew, president of United States, 172, 405; in Creek war, 6; interviewed by Draper, 6, 8; funeral of, 355.
Jackson county, Winnebagoes in, 412, 419, 429–431.
Jackson (Miss.), 234.
Jacobs, J. Baptiste S., Green Bay teacher, 127; letter to Lawe and Grignon, 455; to Lawe, 456, 458.
Jaques, Louis, fur-trade employee, 169.
Jalaine, Michel, fur-trade employee, 162.
Jamaica (L. I.), 271.
James, Dr. ——, translates Scriptures into Chippewa, 443, 446.
James, Maj. Thomas, in Black Hawk war, 233.
James, Woodbridge L., missionary at La Pointe, 447.
Jannasch, ——, *Kolonein*, etc., 308.
Janvier, Simon, fur-trade employee, 162.
Jaudoin, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 162.
Jebon, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 162.

Jefferson (Green county), Swiss in, 368.
Jefferson barracks, in Black Hawk war, 234, 262.
Jefferson county, Winnebagoes in, 407.
Jefferson junction, 251.
Jenaw, I. B., creditor of Green Bay school, 461.
Jenny, C., assists Swiss emigrants, 351.
Jenny, Peter, early teacher, 374.
Jenvine, Pascal, fur-trade employee, 162.
Jesuits, missions on upper lakes, 436–438; *Relations*, 438, 441.
Jierror, ——, voyageur, 458.
Johnson, Guy, English Indian agent, letter from Roberts, 27.
Johnson, Harriet, 268.
Johnson, Col. James, in Black Hawk war, 235.
Johnson, John, fur trader, 440.
Johnson, Sir John, English Indian superintendent, 67, 69, 77, 81, 82, 86–89, 92, 95, 96; letter to Robertson, 64; to Dease, 83; from Montreal traders, 76, 78; from Le Maistre, 91; investigates Dickson, 142.
Johnson, Joshua, 268.
Johnson (Shipness), Ole C., immigration commissioner, 328.
Johnson, Col. Richard M., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4, 6.
Johnson, Rietbrock & Halsey, induce German immigration, 332, 333.
Johnson, Robert, British ensign, 35.
Johnson, Thomas, 268.
Johnson, Thomas S., agreement to teach Green Bay school, 453, 454.
Johnson, Sir William, English Indian superintendent, 27; in French and Indian war, 28; relations with Northwest fur trade, 29; letter from Carleton, 23; sketch, 23.
Johnston, George, patron of Green Bay schools, 456, 460, 461; in Black Hawk war, 279, 281, 288.
Johnston, Harpin, 295.
Johnston, John, Brothertown chief, 192.
Johnstown (Pa.), Swiss at, 356.
Joliet, Louis, discovers Mississippi river, 437.
Jones, Col. Gabriel, in Black Hawk war, 254.
Jones, Horatio, Indian interpreter, 178.
Josette. *See* Carron.
Jourdain, Joseph, Green Bay settler, 127; Indian agency employee, 294, 296; patron of Green Bay school, 454.
Juneau, Solomon, fur trader, 229.

Kakalin. *See* Kaukauna.
Kalamazoo (Mich.), origin of name, 391.
Kaministiquia (Lake Superior), 136, 138.
Kanabec county (Minn.), origin of name, 392.
Kankakee river, American fur trade on, 159, 163, 165.
Kansas, Germans in, 310.
Kapp, Friedrich, *Die Deutschen in Staate New York*, 309, 310; *Immigration and the (New York) Commissioners of Emigration*, 311.
Kaskaskia (Ill.), early French settlement, 43; Clark's expedition to, 7; Menard academy, 406.
Kaukauna, 266–269, 284, 292; rapids at, 185, 186, 188, 189, 196, 204, 205; as an Indian boundary, 208; Indian settlement at, 214; origin of name, 392.
Kaukishkaka (The Blind). *See* White Crow.
Kaushkawnonawe. *See* Bear's Grease.
Kay, Alexander, British Indian agent, 54, 60.
Kay, John, memorial to Haldimand, 54.
Kay, William, fur trader, 78.
Kayra hmaunee, Winnebago chief, 408, 417, 427, 429.
Kean, ——, banker, 266.
Keinouche Indians. *See* Ottawas.
Kellogg, "Old Man," Illinois pioneer, 228.
Kellogg's grove, Black Hawk war, 228, 232, 243, 246, 247.
Kellogg's trail, 228.
Kelton, Capt. Dwight H., cited, 154, 155, 164.
Kempenfelt bay, 111.
Kendall, J., patron of Green Bay school, 465.
Kennan, Kent K., induces German immigration, 299, 329, 331, 332.
Kenockee (Mich.), origin of name, 392.
Kenosha, origin of name, 392, 437.
Kenton, Simon, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 6, 9.
Kentucky, English fur trade in, 134; pioneering in, 4–7, 17; Illinois pioneers from, 229; Cumberland Presbyterians in, 405; Swiss in, 379.
Kenzie, James, fur-trade employee, 162.
Kenzie, John, Jr., fur-trade employee, 162.

Keokuk, Fox chief, relations with Black Hawk, 219, 222, 223, 228, 261, 262.
Keokuk (Iowa), Swiss in, 346.
Kercheval, Benjamin B., trader, 181, 274, 275.
Kewaskum, origin of name, 392.
Kewaunee, origin of name, 392.
Keweena (Wis.), origin of name, 392.
Keweenaw bay, Menard at, 435.
Keweenaw point, American fur trade at, 155, 157, 161, 163, 165, 167–169.
Kewenaw (Mich.). origin of name, 392.
Kickapoo Indians, in war of 1812–15, 116, 144, 151.
Kickapoo river, Winnebagoes on, 408.
Kidder's Ferry (N. Y.), 171.
Kilbi, Swiss religious festival, 375.
Kilbourn City, 261.
Kinenigwin (Indian), fur-trade employee, 162.
King George county (Va.), 268.
Kingsbury, Lieut. James W., in Black Hawk war, 258, 287, 288.
King's Mountain and its Heroes, 14, 21.
Kingston (Canada), in war of 1812–15, 147, 148.
Kinkikie. *See* Kankakee.
Kinzie, ——, English Indian agent, 148.
Kinzie, John H., American Indian agent, 274, 283.
Kinzie, Mrs. John H., *Wau Bun*, 254, 271, 274.
Kishwaukee river (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 236, 239, 240, 241, 247, 264.
Kiskakonk Indians. *See* Ottawas.
Klassy, David, flour miller, 375.
Klasy family, origin of name, 337.
Knight, George W., on federal land grants for education, 322.
Knobel, F., German teacher, 374.
Knox, Secretary ——, letter from Foy, 48.
Koch, Rev. W., *Wo find ich eine Heimath in der Fremde?*
Koch, W. C. L., induces German immigration, 317.
Körner, Gustav, *Das Deutsche Element*, 305, 311, 323, 324.
Kohli, R., newspaper publisher, 377.
Koss, Rudolph A., *Milwaukee*, 314, 323.
Kossuth county (Iowa), Swiss in, 369.
Kunkipot, B., Stockbridge chief, 192.

L'Arbre Croche (Mich.), in Revolutionary war, 60, 63; Indian rendezvous, 90, 202.
La Batte, ——, trader's clerk, 88, 89.
La Bay, La Baye, Labaye. *See* Green Bay.
Labay, Charles, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Bord, T. Baptiste, patron of Green Bay school, 454.
Lac Court Oreilles, American fur trade on, 159, 161, 163, 167, 169; Chippewa reservation on, 449.
Lac du Flambeau, American fur trade on, 154, 155, 157, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169; Chippewa reservation on, 449.
Lac du Sable, English fur trade on, 82; American fur trade on, 164.
Lac Vieux Desert, Menard at, 435.
Lachaise, André, Green Bay settler, 130.
La Chine, fur-trade rendezvous, 136.
La Cloche, Indians resorting to, 60, 70, 145; American fur trade at, 157, 161, 163, 167, 169.
La Croix, Joseph, favors English, 151.
Lacroix, Louis, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Croix, Michael, favors English, 151.
La Crosse (city), 319; origin of name, 426; Winnebagoes at, 408, 409, 416; Germans in, 324, 327.
La crosse, Indian game of, 426, 427.
La Crosse river, Winnebagoes on, 430.
Ladebauche, Louis, fur-trade employee, 162.
Ladebauche, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 160.
La Fayette, Marquis de, 2, 3.
Lafayette county, 270.
La Feuille. *See* Wabasha.
La Force, ——, Draper's sketch of, 20.
Lafortune, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 162.
La Fourche, Ottawa chief, 35.
La Framboise, Claude, Green Bay settler, 130.
Laframboise, Claude, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Framboise, Gruet &, fur traders, 98.
Laframboise, Madame, fur-trade employee, 162.
Lagard, Jean Bt., Sr., fur-trade employee, 162.
Lagarde, John Bt., fur-trade employee, 162.
La Guthrie, Edward, favors English, 151.
L'Aile Rouge, Sioux chief, 88.
Lake Athabasca, British fur trade to, 72.
Lake Bakagama, origin of name, 391.
Lake Cass (Minn.), 444.
Lake Cayuga (N. Y.), 171.
Lake Champlain, British operations on, 39, 40.
Lake Checagon (Mich.), origin of name, 391.
Lake Elk. *See* Lake Itasca.

Lake Erie, British fur trade on, 72, 74, 75; in Revolutionary war, 47.
Lake Geneva, in Black Hawk war, 229.
Lake George (Sault de Ste. Marie), 182, 183.
Lake George (Sault de Ste. Marie), Little, 182.
Lake Gogebic, origin of name, 391.
Lake Huron, flight of Ottawas and Hurons, 438; St. Lusson's visit, 441; English fur trade on, 72, 73, 76, 79, 134, 135; in Revolutionary war, 42, 44, 47, 60; in war of 1812–1815, 113, 145, 148; American fur trade on, 157, 159, 165, 167; mentioned by McCall (1830), 182; in Black Hawk war, 251.
Lake Itasca, origin of name, 444, 445.
Lake Kegonsa, origin of name, 392; in Black Hawk war, 252.
Lake Koshkonong, origin of name, 392; in Black Hawk war, 239, 242, 243, 246, 250, 256.
Lake Leech, early mission on, 444, 445.
Lake Mendota, in Black Hawk war, 245, 252, 253
Lake Michigan, 312, 316, 323, 384, 392; origin of name, 393; Pottawattomies on, 439; English fur-trade on, 79, 134, 135; in Revolutionary war, 40, 42–44, 47, 60; in war of 1812–15, 113, 114, 145, 149; as a boundary (1822), 209; mentioned by McCall (1830), 202; in Black Hawk war, 229.
Lake Mills, in Black Hawk war, 251.
Lake Monona, in Black Hawk war, 252.
Lake Nebagamain, origin of name, 394.
Lake Nipigan, fur trade on, 73.
Lake Nipissing, English fur trade on, 72.
Lake of the Hills, English fur trade on, 137.
Lake of the Two Mountains, Indian rendezvous, 141.
Lake of the Woods, fur trade on, 73.
Lake Ontario, British fur trade on, 72; in Revolutionary war, 48.
Lake Poygan, origin of name, 396.
Lake Puckaway, origin of name, 396.
Lake St. Clair, 182.
Lake Shawano, origin of name, 397.
Lake Simcoe, 111.
Lake Siskowit, origin of name, 397.
Lake Superior, 184, 331; origin of Chippewa name, 393; seen by Radisson and Groseilliers, 434; mining on, 37, 38, 317; missions on, 390, 434–452; English fur trade on, 23–132, 135–138, 145, 440, 441; American fur trade on, 161, 440, 441; in treaty of 1822, 209.
Lake Superior Congregational Club, 434, 446.
Lake Tawas (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Lake Tracy. *See* Lake Superior.
Lake Waubesa, origin of name, 397; in Black Hawk war, 252.
Lake Winnebago, origin of name, 398; in war of 1812–15, 149; mentioned by McCall, 185–187, 192, 201, 205; in Black Hawk war, 280; as an Indian boundary, 208, 211, 212, 214; early military road, 331; German settlers on, 326.
Lake Winnibigoshish (Minn.), origin of name, 398.
Lake Winnipeg, English fur trade on, 137.
Lalande, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 162.
Lamb, Elder ——, 181.
Lambert, ——, assaults an Indian, 97.
La Mieux, François, fur-trade employee, 162.
Lamoreux, François, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Mothe, ——, Indian interpreter, 99.
La Motte, ——, fur trader, 27.
Land, sale of public, in Wisconsin, 318, 319, 321, 322, 325, 326, 327, 347; grants to rail roads, 331; miscellaneous sales to Swiss, 345–347, 380.
Landrie, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 162.
Landry, Bellamy, fur-trade employee, 162.
Langdon, P., secretary to Indian affairs, 95, 96.
Langevin, J. B., Green Bay settler, 128.
Langlade, Charles Michel de, 35, 98; in Revolutionary war, 39, 40, 44, 45, 50, 69.
Langlade, Charles de, Jr., English Indian agent, 60, 63, 69.
L'Anse (Mich.), American fur trade at, 155, 157, 161, 163.
Lantier, Jacques, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Perche, Joseph, fur trader, 155, 157, 162, 165.
La Pierre, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Pointe (Chequamegon bay), 269; Jesuit missions at, 436–438; Protestant missions at, 442–452; fur trade at, 82, 440–442; location of, 441.
La Pointe county, organized, 447.
La Pointe, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 162.
La Pointe, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 162, 169.
La Raviere, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Riviere, Hyppolite, fur trader, 95.
La Riviere, Joseph, fur trade employee, 162

Larned, Col. ——, 181.
La Roche, Augustin, fur-trade employee, 162.
La Rock, B., patron of Green Bay school, 454.
La Ronde, John de, Paquette's clerk, 404–413.
Larrabee, Charles H., relation with Draper, 8, 11, 21.
La Salle (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229.
Lasly, Samuel, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lassallier, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lassammic, Winnebago chief, 151.
Lassossissay, Charlot, Iroquois chief, 45.
Latout, Joseph, Green Bay settler, 130.
Laurent, Alex., fur-trade employee, 164.
Laurent, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lavalle, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 164.
L'Aventure, François, Green Bay settler, 128.
Lavigne, François, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lawe, John, fur trader, 269, 275, 295, 403, 457; in war of 1812–15, 149; connection with Green Bay schools, 454–456, 460, 461; letters from Jacobs, 455, 456, 458; from Hunt, 457; from Curtis, 461, 462; from Irwin, 463; to Grignon, 464.
Lawe, Maria M., marries J. M. Boyd, 269.
Lawrence, Roderic, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lawrence university, 299.
Lead mines of Wisconsin, 270; in Black Hawk war, 244–246; referred to by Marryatt, 326; Germans at, 317, 318; Swiss at, 358.
Lebanon (Tenn.), Presbyterians at, 406.
Lebanon Springs (N. Y.), 170.
Le Borde, J. B., Green Bay settler, 129.
Le Claire, Antoine, Black Hawk's amanuensis, 217.
Le Clerc, Jean B., fur-trade employee, 164.
Leclerc, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 164.
Le Compte, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lecuyer, Miss ——, marries Joseph Paquette, 403.
Lecuyer, Jean, fur trader, 407, 432.
Lecuyer, Simon, removes Winnebagoes, 407.
Lee, H. W., relations with Winnebagoes, 414, 416–418.
Lefort, Louis, fur-trade employee, 164.
Left Hand river (Minn.), origin of Chippewa name, 394, 395.
Legler, Fridolin, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Legler, Fridolin, Jr., pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Legler, George, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 351, 367, 381.
Legler, J. Caspar, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Le Grand Sable, Indian chief, 35.
Leipzig (Germany), emigration from, 320.
Le Maistre, Francis, letter to Johnson, 91; letter from Littlehales, 99.
Le May, Jacques, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lemonweir river, fur trade on, 410.
Lena (Ill.), 243, 244.
Le Roux, Louis, fur-trade employee, 164.
Leroy, removal of Winnebagoes, 414.
Le Sellier, ——, favors English, 151.
Le Seuer, ——, at Madelaine island, 440.
Lewis, Gen. Andrew, in Sandy Creek expedition, 7.
Lezier, Louis, fur-trade employee, 164.
Libraries, in Wisconsin, early establishment of, 10–13, 19.
Lieb, Judge ——, 181.
Lincoln, Abraham, in Black Hawk war, 233, 242.
Lincoln county (S. Dak.), Swiss in, 369.
Lincoln county (Wis.), Germans in, 330.
Linctot, Godfrey, friend of George Rogers Clark, 50.
Linten, Thomas, marries Minerva Brunson, 406.
Lippe Detmold (Germany), emigration from, 327.
Little Bluff Falls (Wis.), Germans at, 310.
Little Chief, Menomonee chief, 193.
Little Chute (on Fox river), 186, 188, 205, 211, 212.
Little Crow, Sioux chief, 116, 140, 151.
Littlehales, Edward Baker, British officer, letter to Le Maistre, 99.
Little Hill, Winnebago chief, 432.
Little river, an Indian rendezvous, 123,
Little Suamico river, origin of name, 397.
Little Sugar river, 337.
Little Thunder, Winnebago chief, 251.
Livingston county (N. Y.), 203.
Livingston, Robert, fur trader, 145.
Lizotte, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lockport (N. Y.), 2, 3.
Lockwood, ——, fur trader, 161.
Löher, Franz, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, 300, 301, 304–307, 309, 311, 312, 323, 326.
Logan county (Ky.), 405.
Long Prairie (Minn.) Winnebagoes at, 407–410.
Long, Maj. Thomas, in Black Hawk war, 233.

Long, William B., legislative messenger, 386, 387.
Lorain, ——, fur trader, 27.
Loring, Capt. Robert Roberts, letter from Bullock, 112.
Lossing, Benson J., knew Draper, 9, 10, 16.
Louis Constant, a rendezvous, 31.
Louis XIV., King of France, 441.
Louisville (Ky.), Germans at, 309, 310.
Louse island, 202.
Lousignon, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 164.
Lowe, Capt. Gideon, in Black Hawk war, 256; at Fort Winnebago, 401.
Lowrey, David, missionary to Winnebagoes, 405, 406, 432; sketch, 405.
Lozon, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 164.
Luchsinger family, origin of name, 337.
Luchsinger, John, "The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wis.," 335, 382; sketch, 335, 375.
Luschinger, Thomas, sheriff, 375.
Ludloff, K., *Amerikanische Reisebilder*, 333.
Lupient. *See* Lupin.
Lupin, Theodore, marries Crelie's daughter, 400.
Lupin, Theodore, Jr., killed by train, 400, 407.
Lutherans, German, in Wisconsin, 299, 324, 325.
Luxemburg, emigration from, 325.

McAfee, Robert, mentions Dickson, 145.
McBeath, George, fur trader, 65, 68.
McBride, David, 261.
McCall, Ansel J., "Sketch of James McCall," 170–172.
McCall, Benajah, father of James McCall, 170.
McCall, James, "Journal of a Visit to Wisconsin in 1830," 170–205; "Documents Illustrating McCall's Journal," 206–215; sketch, 170–172.
McCall, M., 178.
McCoy, ——, explorer, 137.
McCoy, Isaac, Baptist missionary, 457.
McCrae, David, fur trader, 78, 82; memorial to Haldimand, 54.
McDonald, Col. John, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
McDouall, Col. Robert, commandant at Mackinaw, 117, 118, 121, 126, 152, 153; letter from McKay, 115.
McDowell, Col. Charles, fight in the Virginia valley, 7.
McGill, James, fur trader, 82; letter to Hamilton, 72.
McGill, John, fur trader, 78.
McGill, Todd &, fur traders, 78, 96.
McGillis, ——, fur trader, 137.
McGulpin, David, fur-trade employee, 164.
McIntyre, James, fur-trade employee, 164.
McKay, Capt. William, British officer, 111, 118–121, 123–125; in war of 1812–15, 149, 152; letter to McDouall, 115; to Prevost, 123.
McKee, Alexander, British Indian agent, 69, 99, 105, 107, 108.
McKenney, Thomas L., treaty commissioner, 172, 289; letter from Hunt, 206.
Mackenzie, Alexander, explorer, 137.
Mackenzie's river, English fur trade on, 137.
Mackinac. *See* Mackinaw.
Mackinaw, 441, 442, 446; origin of name, 392; Jesuits at, 438; English fur trade at, 23-132, 134, 137, 138; massacre at (1763), 440; in war of 1812–15, 141-153; American fur trade at, 154–169; visited by McCall, 183, 184, 202, 203; Boyd's Indian agency, 266–269, 275, 276.
Mackinaw boats in Black Hawk war, 235; at Portage, 400.
McKindlay, John, fur trader, 78.
McLean, Capt. Hector, letter to Green, 105.
Macon, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 164.
McTavish, Simon, fur trader, 78, 82.
Madelaine island, Chippewa name for, 439; fur trade on, 440–442; missions, 434, 439, 441–452.
Madison, 399, 403, 404, 416; site of, in Black Hawk war, 245, 251–253; Territorial legislature at, 385; organization of State Historical Society at, 10–13; Draper on, 14, 15, 20.
Magee, ——, 190.
Magoon, Henry S., 244.
Mainville, François, fur-trade employee, 164.
Mainville, Louis, fur-trade employee, 164.
Maitland, Auldjo &, fur traders, 78.
Maitland, Gregory &, fur traders, 78.
Makataimeshekiakiak. *See* Black Hawk.
Malden (Canada), visited by Black Hawk, 220, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229.
Manaquanon river, English fur trade on, 81.
Manawa, origin of name, 392.
Manbascause. *See* Hare.
Mandeau, Mrs., fur trader, 78.
Manistique (Mich.), origin of name, 392.

Manitoulin island, Ottawas on, 438; St. Lusson's taking possession, 441.
Manitowoc county, origin of name, 392, 393; German immigration to, 302, 309, 315, 316, 326, 331.
Mannawahkiah river, 209.
Manonimi-Rechi, 87.
Mantua, an Indian rendezvous, 123.
Maranda. *See* Mirandeau.
Marathon county, Germans in, 310; public lands in, 321; Winnebagoes in, 418, 419.
Marchand, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 164.
Marchesseau, ——, fur trader, 94, 95.
Marcy, William Learned, governor of New York, 172.
Marin, La Perriere, Draper's sketch of, 121.
Marion (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
Marquette, Father James, 190; mission at La Pointe, 436–438, 445, 446.
Marriage, among Winnebagoes, 427.
Marryatt, Frederick, on Fox-Wisconsin rivers, 326.
Marsh, Rev. Cutting, early missionary, 186, 189.
Marti family, origin of name, 337.
Marti, M., 343.
Martin, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 164.
Martin, Daniel, fur-trade employee, 164.
Martin, Louis, fur-trade employee, 164.
Martin, Morgan L., cited, 266, 271, 274, 275, 402, 403.
Martin, Col. William, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4, 9.
Marty, Mathias, county clerk, 375.
Maryland, 266, 268.
Mascoutin Indians, origin of name, 394.
Mason, Charles, connection with Territorial printing, 384–386.
Mason, John T., commissioner to Wisconsin Indians, 172–215.
Mason, Pollard &, fur traders, 78.
Masquignon. *See* Muskegon.
Massey, Lieut. Col. ——, British officer, 26.
Massie, Antoine Mace, fur-trade employee, 164.
Massie, François, fur-trade employee, 164.
Massie, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 164.
Matchedash bay, in Revolutionary war, 70; in war of 1812–15, 125, 145, 148.
Matchekewis, Chippewa chief, 21, 67, 68.
Matson, N., *Memories of Shaubena*, 232.
Mattawan (Mich.), origin of name, 393.
Matthews, Charles, fur-trade employee, 164.
Matthews, Robert, military secretary, lette to Sinclair, 57; letters from Robertson, 65, 67, 68.
Maukeektshunxka. *See* Kayrahmaunee.
Maumee (Ohio), 179
Mauston, fur trade at, 410.
Mauzemoneka (Iron-Walker), murders Pierre Paquette, 402.
Mayatt, François, fur-trade employee, 164.
Mayeux, Michael, fur-trade employee, 164.
Mayrand, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 164.
Mazomanie, origin of name, 393.
Mecklenburg (Germany), emigration from, 325, 327.
Mecklenburg county (N. C.), early declaration of independence in, 15, 22.
Medford, German immigration to, 332, 333.
Medicine and medicine-men, among Winnebagoes, 423–425.
Meeme, origin of name, 393.
Melvina (Monroe county), 412.
Menabosho, Algonkin demi-god, 398.
Menard, Pierre, fur trader, 164–168; founds Menard academy, 406.
Menard, Father René, death of, 435.
Menasha, Winnebagoes at, 416.
Menomonee Indians, origin of name, 393; connection with English fur trade, 78–82, 84, 87, 88, 104, 135; in Revolutionary war, 45, 50, 51, 68, 69; in war of 1812–15, 108, 109, 140, 141, 146, 150–152; at treaty of 1827, 289; in council of 1830, 172–215; at Stambaugh's treaty (1831), 292; in Black Hawk war, 226, 227, 232, 247, 255, 268, 270–298; relations with Winnebagoes, 422.
Menomonee river, English fur trade on, 79; American fur trade on, 157, 159, 163, 165, 167, 295; in 1830, 184.
Mentis, Johann, induces German immigration, 315.
Mequon, origin of name, 393.
Merriam, Adjutant ——, in Black Hawk war, 251.
Merrill, Menard near, 435.
Metevier, Gabriel, fur-trade employee, 164.
Methodists, mentioned by McCall, 181; in Wisconsin, 370, 372; in Canada, 443.
Metoxen, John, Stockbridge chief, 192.
Mexico (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
Mhananonpork. *See* Wave.
Miami Indians, 27; in Revolutionary war, 45; in war of 1812–15, 148.
Michel, Myers, assaults an Indian, 96.

Michigamme (Mich.), origin of name, 393.
Michigan, origin of geographical names in, 390-398; Jesuits at Mackinaw and St. Ignace, 436-438; in Black Hawk war, 216-265; laws of, in vogue in Wisconsin, 383-389; Michigan Fencibles, 110, 116, 118, 119, 125, 152; Germans in, 305, 312, 314; *Pioneer Collections*, 84.
Michillimackinac. *See* Mackinaw.
Miller, Andrew, Stockbridge chief, 192.
Millston (Jackson county), 429.
Milwaukee, origin of name, 393; in Revolutionary war, 58; in 1796, 101; in war of 1812-1815, 117, 151; American fur trade at, 157, 163, 169; in Black Hawk war, 229, 271; early military road, 331; free library of, 299; Germans in, 301-303, 312, 314-317, 319, 320, 323-328, 330-333; Swiss at, 347; *Der Anseidler*, 333; *Wisconsin Banner*, 314, 325; *Courier*, 314; *History of*, 323; Koss's *Milwaukee*, 314, 323.
Milwaukee river, 229.
Minard, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 164.
Minard, Louis, fur-trade employee, 164,
Miner, Absalom, 170.
Miner & Weston, fur traders, 410.
Mineral Point, in Black Hawk war, 228, 229, 232; Germans at, 326; Swiss at, 346, 347, 358, 359, 365, 366; land office at, 319.
Mining, German miners in America, 317, 318. *See* also, Copper mining, and Lead mining.
Minneapolis. *See* Falls of St. Anthony.
Minnesota, origin of geographical names in, 390-398; English fur trade in, 138; Ainsée's expedition (1787), 84-91; Protestant missions in, 444, 445, 447; Sioux outbreak, 407, 410; Winnebagoes in, 405, 407-410; Swiss in, 369; suffrage in, 314; *Historical Collections*, 396, 435.
Minnewawkie. *See* Mannawahkiah.
Minong. *See* Isle Royale.
Mirandeau, Jean Baptiste, Green Bay settler, 131.
Misha Mokwa, origin of name, 393.
Missaukee county (Mich.), origin of name, 393.
Missassauga Indians, in war of 1812-15, 145.
Mississagi river, English fur trade on, 60, 70, 104; American fur trade on, 155, 157, 161, 167.
Missions, Catholic, 433; Baptist, 183; Presbyterian, 184, 186, 188, 189, 405, 440; American board, 451, 452; among Oneidas, 185; on Chequamegon bay, 434-452; in Illinois, 230.
Mississippi (state), Draper's researches in, 8.
Mississippi river, 218, 274, 305, 312, 327, 346, 380, 412, 432, 437, 444, 447-449; origin of name, 393, 394; discovered by Radisson and Groseilliers, 434, 437, 438; discovered by Joliet and Marquette, 438; English fur trade on, 23-132, 134-138; in war of 1812-15, 139, 140, 142, 145, 146, 149, 150, 152; American fur trade on, 154-169, 403; in Black Hawk war, 219, 221, 223, 226, 228, 230, 231, 233, 236, 246, 247, 251, 254, 255, 257, 259-261, 263, 287-289; mining on, 317.
Missouri, 270; treaty of 1804, 218; Germans in, 306, 311, 314, 315.
Missouri river, 306; English fur trade on, 137, 138; as a Sac boundary, 219; Swiss on, 346; Winnebagoes on, 409, 410.
Mitchell, David, English army surgeon, 60.
Mohawk (N. Y.) *Courier*, 314.
Mohawk Indians, English fur trade with, 102; in war of 1812-15, 143; Draper friendly with, 6.
Mohawk valley, in Revolutionary war, 23, 27, 28.
Mohl, Robert von, plans for a German state, 308.
Monekee, Joe, a Winnebago, 413.
Mongamike, Indian chief, 35.
Monier, Leon, fur-trade employee, 165.
Moningwunakauning island. *See* Madelaine island.
Monkkawkaw, Winnebago chief, 192.
Mooers, Hazen, fur-trade employee, 166.
Monroe (Mich.), 179.
Monroe (Wis.), 335; Swiss at, 366, 375-377.
Monsreau, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Montreal, 35; English fur-trade of, in Northwest, 41-46, 55, 72-82, 84, 87, 91, 108, 109, 123, 136, 139, 142, 154-169.
Morel, Louis, Indian-bureau agent, 416.
Morgan, Col. ——, 234.
Morgan, Fox chief, 219.
Morrison, Charles, fur trader, 78.
Morrison, P., patron of Green Bay school, 454.
Morrison, W., fur trader, 157, 166, 169.
Moses, John, *Illinois: Historical and Statistical*, 217.
Mosinee, origin of name, 394.
Mounds, Winnebago opinion of, 431.
Mt. Pleasant (Iowa), Swiss at, 346.
Mt. Pleasant (Wis.), Swiss at, 363
Mukwanago, origin of name, 394.

Munsee Indians, 193, 208.
Muscatine (Iowa), origin of name, 394.
Muscoda, origin of name, 394.
Mushkeezeebi river. *See* Bad river.
Muskego (Wis.), origin of name, 394.
Muskegon (Mich.), origin of name, 394; American fur trade at, 159, 163, 165.

Nadawasaga, American fur trade at, 156, 157, 160, 162.
Nadeau, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 166.
Nadouessi Indians. *See* Sioux.
Nahma (Mich.), origin of name, 394.
Namekagon river, origin of name, 394.
"Nancy," English fur-trade vessel, 148, 149.
Naramore, Dr. W. P., 244.
Narimont, Amable, Green Bay settler, 128.
Nashotah, origin of name, 394.
Nashville (Tenn.), Presbyterians at, 405, 406.
Naval affairs. *English* — On Great Lakes, in Revolutionary war, 40, 41, 64, 66; protection of English fur trade, 71, 74, 105; in war of 1812-15, 148, 149, 152. *American* — On Great Lakes, in war of 1812-15, 113, 152.
Navarino (Green Bay), 184; founded, 274, 275; Grignon's school at, 464, 465.
Neapope, Black Hawk's lieutenant, 227, 230, 231, 239, 253, 255, 262; sketch, 227.
Nebraska, Winnebagoes in, 410, 413-415, 418.
Necedah, 410; origin of name, 394.
Neebish (Mich.), origin of name, 394.
Nee Man. *See* Sturgeon.
Neenah, Indian village at, 187.
Neeshotijewayoc. *See* Two Rivers.
Negaunee, origin of name, 394.
Neill, Edward A., *History of Minnesota*, 138, 407, 434, 440.
Nekimi, origin of name, 394.
Nemadji. *See* Left Hand river.
Neokautah. *See* Hootschope.
Neumann, ——, *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten*, 304.
Neumanville, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Neveu, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 166.
Newark (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229.
New Glarus, planting of Swiss colony at, 335-382.
New Lisbon, 414.
New Orleans, early settlement at, 135; French fur traders at, 26; Germans at, 312.
New York (city), 269, 270; Swiss at, 343-345, 348.
New York (state), tory warfare in, 27; pioneering in, 170, 171; Germans in, 305, 307, 309, 312, 318-320, 324; *Colonial Documents*, 28, 30, 48, 84.
New York Indians (in Wisconsin), relations to commission of 1830, 172-215; in the Stambaugh treaty, 292; in Black Hawk war, 277, 278, 281, 286, 289; letter from Boyd, 281.
Niagara, in Revolutionary war, 42, 43, 46, 48.
"Niagara," pioneer steamboat, 181, 203.
Nickel, Theodore, 299.
Nicolay, John G. (and Hay), *Abraham Lincoln*, 230.
Nicoll, Jean Maril, fur-trade employee, 166.
Nicollet, Jean N., at Leech lake, 445.
Niles's Register, 151, 304.
Norfolk (Va.), 268.
Northwest, early struggles for, 7; Clark's expedition, 6, 7; English operations in (1787-1814), 23-132.
Northwest Fur Company, Dickson's relations with, 134-137; in war of 1812-15, 141, 148, 151, 152.
Norton, ——, steamboat captain, 202.
Norton, Capt. John, Mohawk chief, 143.
Notawasaque bay, 112, 113.
Nüremberg (Germany), emigration from, 320.

O'Bail, Maj. Henry, Seneca chief, 3.
Oconomowoc, origin of name, 395.
Oconto (town), 269.
Oconto county, public lands in, 321.
Odanah, Indian mission at, 434, 446-452.
Ogema, origin of name, 395.
Ogemaw county (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Ohio, Illinois pioneers from, 229; Germans in, 311, 312, 319, 324.
Ohio river, 306, 386, 388; English fur trade on, 72; pioneering on, 171; Swiss on, 356, 366.
Ojibwa, or Ojibway. *See* Chippewa.
Okee, origin of name, 395.
Okeetick, Menomonee chief, 297.
Okemos (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Old Dandy, Winnebago chief, 409.
Old Lutherans, 324, 325.

Oliver, Frederick, English Indian agent, 119.
Omaha Indians, relations with Winnebagoes, 410.
Omena (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Oneida Indians, 27; at council of 1830, 185, 188, 190–197, 199, 204; Boyd's agency, 268; Draper's relations with, 6.
Onekama (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Onnore, ——, settler at Prairie du Chien, 92.
Onondago (N. Y.), 453.
Ontonagon river (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Opechee (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Oregon (Ill.), Swiss at, 346.
Oregon (state), Germans in, 305; Swiss in, 369.
Orton, Harlow S., a founder of the State Historical Society, 11.
Osakies. *See* Sac Indians.
Oscom, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 166.
Oshkosh (city), 331.
Oshkosh, Menomonee chief, 193, 195.
Ossinike (Mich.), origin of name, 395.
Oswegatchie, British post at, 48.
Oswego (N. Y.), English-Indian operations against, 84.
Ottawa (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 241, 242, 245.
Ottawa Indians, origin of name, 395, 393, 439; at early La Pointe, 436–438; connection with English fur trade, 78, 81, 82, 100, 135; in Revolutionary war, 45, 60, 63; in war of 1812–15, 141, 145, 146, 148; in council of 1830, 196; in Black Hawk war, 227; sketch of La Fourche, 35.
Ottawa river, English fur trade on, 41, 72, 136; in Revolutionary war, 58, 67; in war of 1812–15, 143.
Ouisconsin. *See* Wisconsin.
Ould, Joseph, 295.
Outagamie county, origin of name, 396; Germans in, 326.
Outagamies. *See* Fox Indians.
Outaouac Indians. *See* Ottawas.
Ovid (N. Y.), 171.
Ozaukee county, origin of name, 396; Germans in, 324.

Packwaukee, origin of name, 396.
Pagé, Antoine dit Charon, fur-trade employee, 166.
Paleu, Joshua, fur-trade employee, 166.
Palmyra (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
Paper money, in Wisconsin, 126.
Papin, Baptiste, Green Bay settler, 130.
Paquette, Jean Baptiste, son of Pierre, 400.
Paquette, Joseph, cousin of Pierre, 402, 403.
Paquette, Moses, "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes," 399–433; sketch, 399.
Paquette, Pierre, fur trader, 399–404, 409, 431–433; in Black Hawk war, 250, 255; death of, 279.
Paquette, Pierre, Jr., 403.
Paquette, Thérèse J., daughter of Pierre, 400, 401, 403–405.
Paquette, Xavier, son of Pierre, 400.
Parish, Thomas J., in Black Hawk war, 232.
Parisian, Jacques, fur-trade employee, 166.
Parker, ——, pioneer preacher, 203.
Parkinson, Daniel M., founds Wiota, 270.
Parkinson, Peter, in Black Hawk war, 232.
Parkman, Francis, knew Draper, 9, 16; *Half Century of Conflict*, 438; *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 23, 28.
Parrant, Joseph, fur trader, 57.
Parton, James, on Bishop Baraga, 451.
Patterson, Charles, fur trader, 87–89, 94, 95,
Patterson, J. B., edits Black Hawk's *Autobiography*, 217, 220.
Pawakonem. *See* Big Soldier.
Paw Paw (Mich.), origin of name, 396.
Peace river, English fur trade on, 137.
Peckatonica river (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 243.
Peligord, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 166.
Penetanguishene (Ontario), in war of 1812–1815, 111–113.
Pennsylvania, Illinois pioneers from, 229; Germans in, 305, 306, 311, 312; *Alte und Neue Welt*, 305.
Penokee hills, origin of name, 396.
Penowegonna. *See* Big Soldier.
Pensaukee, origin of name, 396.
Pensonneau, ——, fur trader, 165, 169.
Peoria (Ill.), in Revolutionary war, 50; in war of 1812–15, 144, 149, 151; in Black Hawk war, 228, 232; Swiss at, 357.
Perrot, Nicholas, Draper's sketch of, 21.
Persey, ——, missionary, 184.
Peru (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229, 232; Swiss at, 346, 357, 358.
Petel, Louis, Green Bay settler, 129.
Petitverge, Gabriel, fur-trade employee, 166.
Petoskey, origin of name, 396.
Pewamo (Mich.), origin of name, 396.

Pewaukee, origin of name, 396.
Pewittanit. *See* Rain.
Pheasant branch (creek), in Black Hawk war, 253.
Pheasant Branch (village), in Black Hawk war, 252.
Phelphs, Noah, assists Swiss immigrants, 366.
Philadelphia, 170, 171; Draper at, 8, 9; Germans in, 305.
Phillips, Charles Frederick, English officer, letter to Clowes, 49.
Phillips, James, English Indian agent, 60.
Piankishaw Indians, 106.
Picants. *See* Winnebago Indians.
Pickens, Andrew, Revolutionary officer, 6.
Pike, Gen. Z. M., *Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi*, etc., 136–138.
Pike lake, Big Hawk at, 416, 418.
Pillon, Alexis, fur-trade employee, 166.
Pillon, Jacques, fur-trade employee, 166.
Pillon, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Pinard, ——, abuses English, 117.
Piquette, François, fur-trade employee, 166.
Piquette, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Pittsburg (Pa.), 388; Germans at, 306, 310; Swiss at, 355, 356.
Plamondon, ——, voyageur, 93.
Platteville, in Black Hawk war, 232; early preacher at, 186; Swiss at, 346.
Plover portage (Wis.), 274.
Plum-river fort (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 244, 246.
Plumb creek, as a boundary, 204.
Plymton, Capt. Joseph C., in Black Hawk war, 287.
Pocheron, D. Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Point au Fer, on Lake Champlain, 39, 40.
Point du Plains, 167.
Point la Tour, 182.
Poivier, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Poles, early immigration of, 305.
Polk county, public lands in, 321.
Pollard & Mason, fur traders, 78.
Pombert, Louis, fur-trade employee, 166.
Pomerania, emigration from, 324, 325, 327, 331, 333.
Pontiac, Indian chief, 25.
Pontotoc (Miss.), Draper at, 8.
Poole, P., sheriff, 413.
Porlier, Jacques J., fur trader, 118, 119, 123, 124, 126, 157, 275, 457; in attack on Prairie du Chien, 144; patron of Green Bay schools, 454, 456, 460, 461.
Portage (Wis.), 201, 399, 406, 407, 431; English fur trade at, 84, 93, 134, 135, 139; in Black Hawk war, 229, 249, 250, 254, 255, 274, 282–285, 287, 290, 295; Pierre Paquette at, 399–404, 432, 433; early military road, 331; reference by Marryatt, 326; removal of Winnebagoes, 413, 414, 416, 429; *Register*, 414.
Portage des Sioux, American fur trade at, 168; treaty at (1815), 223.
Porter, G. B., governor of Michigan Territory, letters from Boyd, 273, 275, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293.
Porter, Jeremiah, early missionary, 443.
Portland (Ohio), 178.
Port Royal (Va.), 268.
Posey, Gen. Alexander, in Black Hawk war, 243, 246-249, 256, 259.
Pot de Vin, ——, fur trader, 27.
Pottawattomie Indians, connection with English fur trade, 45, 106; in Revolutionary war, 45, 53, 56, 60; in war of 1812–15, 144, 148–150, 221; in council of 1830, 196; in Black Hawk war, 224, 225, 227, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 239, 242, 246, 278; relations with Winnebagoes, 422; relations with Chippewas, 439; removal from Wisconsin, 412; Draper among the, 6,
Potter, Nathaniel, military clerk, relations with Robert Rogers, 28, 29; his deposition, 29–33.
Poughkeepsie (N. Y.), 271.
Pouyotte, Nicholas, fur-trade employee, 166.
Powell, Peter, patron of Green Bay school, 454.
Powell, William, fur trader, 295; in Black Hawk war, 279, 281, 293, 294.
Powles, Henry, Oneida chief, 192.
Poy Sippi, origin of name, 396.
Prairie du Chien, 269, 463; English fur trade at, 82, 87, 88, 92, 94, 95, 135, 136; in Revolutionary war, 49, 50, 54, 55, 57, 65, 68; in war of 1812–15, 111, 114, 115–118, 121, 132, 144, 145, 150–153, 279; American fur trade at, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163–165, 167; treaty at (1825), 223; in Black Hawk war, 226, 234, 254, 255, 257, 258, 261, 287, 288; Brisbois's recollections of, 21; referred to by Paquette, 400, 402, 403, 406, 407, 410–412, 430, 431; Winnebago mission, 405.
Prairie du Sac, in Black Hawk war, 254.
Presbyterians, mentioned by McCall, 178–181, 184, 186, 203; at Lebanon university, 406;

Winnebago mission, 405, 406; at Odanah mission, 434, 451, 452.
Prescott, Thomas, marries Thérèse Paquette, 400.
Preston, Col. William C., in Sandy Creek campaign, 4, 7.
Prevost, Sir George, governor of Canada, 112, 143, 145, 151; letters from Drummond, 117, 118; from Duke of York, 121; from McKay, 123.
Prevost, Touissant, fur-trade employee, 166.
Price county, German immigration to, 330, 331.
Prickett, Richard, Indian interpreter, 192, 279, 294, 296, 298; patron of Green Bay school, 454.
Princeton (Ill.), Swiss at, 346.
Princeton (Ky.), *Religious and Literary Intelligencer*, 405.
Princeton (Wis.), early Germans at, 326.
Printing, early Wisconsin legislative, 383–389.
Prior, ——, land viewer, 178.
Proctor, Gen. Henry A., 143–149; letter from Bullock, 108.
Prophetstown (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 231, 233, 235, 236.
Prout, Bazil (*dit* Jean Bt.), fur-trade employee, 165.
Provost, Charles, fur-trade employee, 166.
Pruneaux, Charles, fur-trade employee, 165.
Prunier, Bazil, fur-trade employee, 166.
Prussia, emigration from, 325.
Puants. *See* Winnebago Indians.

Quashquame, Sac chief, 223.
Quashtanow Indians, in Revolutionary war, 45.
Quebec, early western missions, 436, 437; Province of, defined, 23; in war of 1812–15, 151; European immigration through, 320, 328.
Queenston, Canada, 133, 134.
Quigley, Patrick, Territorial legislator, 383.
Quinney, John W., Stockbridge chief, 192.

Rabbi, Gabriel, Green Bay settler, 128.
Rabbit, Menomonee chief, 193.
Rabideaux, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 166.
Racette, Etienne, fur-trade employee, 166.
Racine, 313.
Radisson, Sieur, at Chequamegon bay, 424 435.
Rai, Joseph, Green Bay settler, 128.
Railroads. *Wisconsin*—Influence on German immigration, 316, 329–332; influence on Swiss immigration, 336, 344; Illinois Central, 376; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, 377; Wisconsin Central, 401. *Pennsylvania*, 355. *Switzerland*, 343.
Rain, Menomonee chief, 193.
Rainville, ——, Indian interpreter, 81.
Raisin river, 179; in war of 1812–15, 110, 144.
Randall, Alexander W., friend of Draper, 13.
Reaume, ——, Indian agent, 81.
Reaume, Alexis Luc, fur-trade employee, 166.
Reaume, Charles, Green Bay settler, 128.
Rector, Lieut. ——, English officer, 114.
Rector, Col. William, surveyor general, 270.
Red Bird uprising (1827), 270, 428.
Red Cedar lake, Dickson's operations on, 136.
Red river (Manitoba), 137.
Red Thunder, a Dakotah chief, 138.
Red Wing. *See* L'Aile Rouge.
Reedsburg, Winnebagoes at, 425.
Reeves, John, fur trader, 78.
Religion, Illinois pioneers of, 230.
Relle, Constant, fur-trade employee, 166.
Remington, Winnebagoes at, 416.
Remsen, Peter A., patron of L. C. Draper, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11.
Reynards. *See* Fox Indians.
Reynolds, ——, English Indian agent, 108.
Reynolds, Gov. John, in Black Hawk war, 225, 226, 232, 234, 241, 244, 246, 249; *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 217; *My Own Times*, 217, 221, 226, 235, 237, 241, 244, 249, 250, 256, 260.
Rhine provinces, German emigration from, 315–317, 325, 326.
Rhine river, Swiss emigrants on, 350–352, 380.
Rice, Henry M., removes Winnebagoes, 406–408.
Richards, Charles H., 170.
Richards, Marie Miner, granddaughter of James McCall, 170.
Richarville, ——, French-Canadian fur trader, 27.
Richter, Gustav, induces German immigration, 315; *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin*, 313, 314, 316.
Riggs, ——, English officer, 114.
Ripon, Germans in, 316.
Ritner, Lieut. Joseph, in Black Hawk war, 254, 255.

River des Planes. *See* Des Plaines river.
Roads, military, in Wisconsin, 331, 402.
Robert, François, fur-trade employee, 166.
Roberts, Capt. ——, English officer, 141, 144, 146, 149.
Roberts, Lieut. Benjamin, English officer, 32, 33; letter to Guy Johnson, 27.
Robertson, Daniel, English officer, 95, 96; letter from Hope and others, 61; to Matthews, 65, 67, 88; to Brehm, 65; to Claus, 66, 69; to Haldimand, 69, 70.
Robertson, James, "Father of Tennessee," 6, 9.
Robinson, François, fur-trade employee, 166.
Roche de Bout, a rendezvous, 101.
Rochester (N. Y.) *Gem*, 3, 20.
Rock island, in Black Hawk war, 219, 223, 226, 228, 261; treaty of 1832, 403, 405.
Rock river, in war of 1812–15, 115, 116; in Black Hawk war, 219, 224, 225, 227, 228, 231–234, 237, 239, 240, 242, 244, 246–251, 263, 264, 272; Swiss immigrants on, 345, 346.
Rocky mountains, English fur trade in, 137.
Rocque, Joseph, Indian interpreter, 61, 63, 81, 94, 125.
Rodolf, Frederick, assists Swiss immigrants, 347.
Rodolf, Theodore, assists Swiss immigrants, 347.
Röser, Karl, 309.
Rogers, Maj. Robert, commandant at Mackinaw, conspiracy of, 28–37.
Rohr, Capt. Henry von, German pioneer, 324, 325.
Roi, Francais, Green Bay settler, 130.
Roi, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 166.
Roi, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 166.
Rolette, Joseph, 401–403; in capture of Prairie du Chien, 115, 116; in Black Hawk war, 287.
Rolette, Laurent, Paquette's clerk, 403, 404.
Rolland, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 166.
Rondeau, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 166.
Root, Erastus, commissioner to Wisconsin Indians, 172–215.
Roque. *See* Rocque.
Roscher, William, *Political Economy*, 308, 310; *Kolonien*, etc., 308, 325.
Rosenstengel, W. H., 299.
Ross, Capt. Otis, assists Swiss immigrants, 366.
Roucelle, Laurent, fur trade employee, 166.
Round island, American fur trade at, 166.
Rouse, ——, fur-trader, 169.
Rouse, Lewis, connection with Green Bay schools, 461, 465; letter from Curtis, 461.
Rousseau, Augustin, fur-trade employee, 168.
Rousseau, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 168.
Roussian, Eustache, fur-trade employee, 168.
Roy, ——, fur trader, 92.
Roy, Francis, fur trader, 295.
Roy, Vincent, authority on Chippewa orthography, 390, 396.
Ruegger, Edward, sheriff, 375.
Rushford (N. Y.), 172, 177.
Russell, President ——, 105, 106.
Ryan, Samuel, patron of Green Bay school, 465.

Sac Indians, 187, 397; connection with English fur trade, 78, 80–82, 88, 90, 106, 107; in Revolutionary war, 45, 50, 51, 60; in war of 1812–15, 115, 116, 141, 144, 146, 151; in 1830, 201; in Black Hawk war, 216–265, 274, 279, 282, 287, 288.
Sacramento (Cal.), 271.
Saganaquoitte (Indian), fur-trade employee, 168.
Saginaw bay, 113, 203; origin of name, 397; in war of 1812–15, 145.
Saginaw Indians, in war of 1812–15, 113.
St. Amant, Andre, fur-trade employee, 168.
St. Ange, Sieur de, Draper's sketch of, 21.
St. Arno, Edward, fur-trade employee, 168.
St. Charles (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
St. Clair, Gov. Arthur, 95; Indian campaigns of, 7; proposed biography of, 9.
St. Clair river, in war of 1812–15, 149.
St. Croix river, fur trade on, 92, 403.
St. Cyr, Michael, Draper's sketch of, 21.
St. Francis seminary (Milwaukee), 324.
St. Germain, Leon, fur-trade employee, 168.
St. Germain, Nabérer, fur trader, 410.
St. Ignace (Mich.), founded, 438.
St. Joseph's (Mich., town), Swiss at, 345.
St. Joseph's island, English fur trade on, 105, 113.
St. Joseph's river, English fur trade on, 37, 79, 113; in Revolutionary war, 44, 45, 50, 56, 66; in war of 1812–15, 140, 144, 151; American fur trade on, 155, 159, 161, 162, 165, 167.
St. Lawrence river, English fur trade on, 25, 137.
St. Leger. Barry, British officer, 28, 84.
St. Louis, 262, 274, 387; fur trade at, 138, 154, 158; in war of 1812–15, 142, 144, 149–153; treaties at, 223, 232; Menard academy, 406;

Germans in, 304, 318; Swiss in, 344, 346, 354, 357-360.
St. Louis river (Minn.), 138, 444.
St. Lusson, Sieur de, takes possession of Northwest, 441.
St. Mary's. *See* Sault de Ste Marie.
St. Paul, Winnebagoes at, 408, 409.
St. Peters river (Minn.), 274; English fur trade on, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 89, 92, 94, 95; American fur trade on, 157.
St. Regis Indians, 185, 192.
St. Roc, Francais, Green Bay settler, 130.
Salem, Winnebagoes near, 430.
Sandusky (Ohio), 178, 203.
Sandwich, English fur trade at, 105, 108; in war of 1812-15, 143.
Sandy lake, English fur trade on, 138; early mission on, 444.
Sandy river, English fur trade on, 138.
Sarayen, ——, British Indian agent, 56.
Saskatchewan river, English fur trade on, 137.
Saucier, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 168.
Saugatuck (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Sauk (village), founded by Haraszthy, 326.
Sauk county, origin of name, 396; German immigration to, 323, 325-327.
Sauks. *See* Sac Indians.
Sault de Ste. Marie, 274; St. Lusson at, 441; Marquette at, 436; Chippewas at, 439; English fur trade at, 69, 79; in Revolutionary war, 59-61, 63; American fur trade at, 158, 162, 163, 168; visited by McCall, 182, 183; Protestant missions at, 443.
Saunders, John, fur-trade employee, 168.
Savanna (Ill.), 269.
Savanna river, English fur trade on, 138.
Saxony, emigration from, 304, 325, 327, 333.
Schem, Alexander J., *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon*, 324.
Schindler family, origin of name, 337.
Schindler, Abraham, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Schindler, Balthasar, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 348, 367, 374.
Schindler, David, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 348, 367.
Schindler, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 168.
Schlaich, Julius, 299.
Schmid family, origin of name, 337.
Schmid, Mathias, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Schmidt, Carl H., *Prämie des Nord-westen*, 311.
Schöffiler, Moritz, on electoral franchise, 314.
Schönberg, G., *Polit. Œcon. Auflage*, 325.
Schoharie county (N. Y.), 170.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., Michigan legislator, 181; Indian agent at Mackinaw, 183, 275, 276; expedition to Upper Mississippi, 444, 445; *History of Indian Tribes*, 423, 424, 427, 432.
Schurz, Carl, on Germans in America, 309, 310.
Schwanden (Switzerland), emigration from, 342.
Scott, Capt. John, English officer, 91, 110.
Scott, Gen. Winfield, in Black Hawk war, 241, 261, 272, 277, 278, 281, 285, 288, 291.
Searl, D., pioneer preacher, 178.
Second lake. *See* Lake Waubesa.
Selby, ——, English military secretary, 105.
Seneca county (N. Y.), 171.
Seneca Indians, Draper's relations with, 3, 6.
Senn, John J., 299.
Seunet, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 168.
Sevier, John, a hero of King's Mountain, 6, 9.
Shaking of the Earth. *See* Kayrahmaunee.
Shanty Town (Green Bay), 184, 201, 274.
Shaubena, Pottawattomie chief, 221, 231, 232, 236, 239.
Shaumburg, ——, American officer, 101.
Shaw, John, interviewed by Draper, 21.
Shawano (city), 330.
Shawano county, public lands in, 321; Winnebagoes in, 419; Germans in, 330, 331.
Shawano (Shawanee, Shawnee, and Shawnese) Indians, 107; origin of name, 397; in Revolutionary war, 45; in war of 1812-15, 144, 221; Draper's relations with, 6, 20.
Shea, John G., knew Draper, 16.
Sheaffe, Sir Roger Hale, British general, 144; instructions regarding Indian presents, 118, 123.
Sheboygan county, origin of name, 397; German immigration to, 316, 326.
Shiocton, origin of name, 397.
Shoales, Charles C., Territorial legislator, 383.
Shogonikkaw. *See* Little Hill.
Shounktshunksiap. *See* Black Wolf.
Shelburne (Lord), English secretary of state, 33.
Shelby, Isaac, a hero of King's Mountain, 6.
Sheldon, Augusta Searle, 170.
"Sheldon Thompson," pioneer steamboat, 181.
Shullsburg, Old, in Black Hawk war, 232
Shutye, ——, Indian interpreter, 67.
Sibley, Judge ——, 181.
Sicard, J. Bt., fur-trade employee, 169.
Sicard, Joseph, fur-trade employee, 168.

Simcoe, John Graves, governor of Upper Canada, 97, 99, 100, 133, 134.
Simoneaus, François Ant., fur-trade employee, 168.
Sinclair, Patrick, English lieutenant governor of Mackinaw, 51, 52, 55, 58, 62, 63; memorandum by, 52; letter to Haldimand, 56; from Haldimand, 56, 58; from Matthews, 57.
Sinsiniwa Mound, in Black Hawk war, 244.
Sioux Indians, 187; Chippewa name for, 439; English fur trade with, 78–82, 85–91, 93, 101, 138; in Revolutionary war, 49, 50, 60, 61, 67; in war of 1812–15, 108, 109, 116, 141, 146, 150–152; relations with La Pointe mission, 436, 438; in Black Hawk war, 226, 258, 261, 264, 270, 287, 288; Minnesota outbreak, 407, 410, 450.
Sissetons. *See* Sioux.
Six Nations, English fur trade with, 83.
Skaneo (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Skennidon, Thomas, 295.
Slaughter, William B., secretary of Wisconsin Territory, 386.
Slave lake, English fur trade on, 137.
Slave river, English fur trade on, 137.
Slavery, in early Northwest, 95.
Small-pox, among Winnebagoes, 401, 402.
Smith, Edward P., Indian commissioner, 414.
Smith, Jeremiah Jr., member of Territorial council, 383.
Smith, William R., *History of Wisconsin*, 245.
Snake family, of Winnebagoes, 417.
Snyder & Van Vechten, *Historical Atlas of Wisconsin*, 322, 331.
Sock Grist, Indian chief, 297.
Soils of Wisconsin, 315–318, 326, 339, 347, 349, 359.
Solomons, William, fur-trade employee, 168.
Somerville (N. Y.), Swiss at, 345.
South Ottawa (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 229, 232.
South Wayne, 347.
Spafford, Omri, Indian fight at his farm, 243.
Spangler, Samuel, early surveyor, 375.
Spanish, operations in the Illinois region, 25, 54, 66, 80, 135.
Sparks, Jared, knew Draper, 9, 16.
Sparta, Winnebagoes at, 413, 414; *Herald*, 414.
Spencer, Garry, fur-trade employee, 168.
Spiesmacher, Capt. Frederick Christopher, British officer, 28, 32; letter to ——, 34.
Spooner, Abigail, missionary at La Pointe, 447.
Stafford, Lieut. Joseph S., removes Winnebagoes, 414.
Stambaugh, Samuel C., at council of 1830, 191, 192, 199, 201, 202; connection with Stambaugh treaty (1831), 177, 198, 204, 292; in Black Hawk war, 255, 266–298; letters from Boyd, 282, 284, 290.
Stauffacher, Anton, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Stauffacher, Henry, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 353, 367.
Stauffacher, Jacob, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Stauffacher, Peter, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Stauffacher, Rudolf, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 353, 367.
Steuben county (N. Y.), 170, 171.
Stevens, Comly, Oneida chief, 192.
Stevens, J. D., early missionary, 186.
Stevens, Mrs. J. D., wife of foregoing, 189.
Stevens Point, German immigration to, 332; Winnebagoes at, 416, 417.
Stephenson, Capt. J. W., in Black Hawk war, 245, 247.
Stephenson county (Ill.), 243.
Stillman, Maj. Isaiah, in Black Hawk war, 235–240, 244.
Stillman's run (Ill.). *See* Sycamore creek.
Stobo, Robert, Draper's sketch of, 20.
Stockbridge Indians, in 1830, 185, 186, 189, 191, 192, 208, 214; Congregational church among, 445.
Stockbridge (Mass.), Congregational church at, 445.
Stone, Thomas, Indian interpreter, 61.
Stoote, ——, intrigue with Rogers, 33.
Stork, John, assaults an Indian, 96.
Stoskopf, Michael, 244.
Street, Gen. Joseph, in Black Hawk war, 226, 254, 261.
Streiff, Fridolin, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 342, 343, 345, 347, 348, 357, 362, 365, 367, 381.
Streissguth, William, pastor at New Glarus, 365, 367, 368, 370–372, 376, 381, 382.
Stuart, Robert, of American Fur Company, 458.
Sturgeon, Menomonee chief, 297, 298.
Sturgeon Bay, 268, 392.
Stuvé, Bernard, *Complete History of Illinois*, 217.
Suamico, origin of name, 397.
Suffrage, in Wisconsin, 314, 318.
Sugar island, 182.
Sugar river, in Black Hawk war, 247.

Sullivan, Gen. John, American officer, 27.
Sully, R. M., paints Black Hawk, 220; Draper's eulogy of, 21.
Sumter, Thomas, biography of, 6.
"Superior," pioneer steamboat, 180.
Superior (Wis.), 390, 394, 396.
Susquehanna river, 355.
Sutherland & Grant, fur traders, 78, 82.
Sutton, Richard, letter from Carleton, 33.
Swan river (Minn.), Winnebagoes on, 407–409.
Swanson, David, fur-trade employee, 168.
Sweet, Alanson, member of Territorial council, 383.
Swiss, in Wisconsin, 299, 327; early immigration of, 325, 331; "The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wis.," 335–382; Reformed church, 337, 344, 369–373.
Sycamore creek (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 231, 235, 236, 263.
Sylvester (Green county), Swiss at, 363.
Sylvester, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 168.
Sylvester, William, fur-trade employee, 168.

Taillis, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee.
Talon, Jean Baptiste, intendant of New France, 441.
Tankaumhakichin. *See* Little Chief.
Tanner, Herbert B., "Sketch of George and James M. Boyd," 266–269; cited, 278.
Tanner, Mrs. Herbert B., 267, 269.
Taverns, early, 178, 180, 181.
Tawanears. *See* Governor Blacksnake.
Tawas, Indian chief, 397.
Taycheedah, Paquette's claim at, 403.
Taylor, Zachary, in Black Hawk war, 234, 248, 256.
Taylor county, Germans in, 330, 331.
Tchenawnpauma. *See* All Looks Upon.
Tecumseh, 221, 224; death of, 6, 7, 408.
Tekonsha (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Tennessee, pioneering in, 4–6; Swiss in, 379; Presbyterians in, 405, 406.
Terrien, François, fur-trade employee, 168.
Terry, Gen. A. H., 414.
Texas, German immigration to, 300, 305–307, 315.
Thames (Canada), battle of, 221, 408.
Thierry, ——, English Indian agent, 45.
Third Lake. *See* Lake Monona.
Thomas, Col. ——, mission farmer, 405.
Thomas, Henry, Illinois pioneer, 228.
Thomas, Col. John, in Black Hawk war, 232.
Thompson, ——, explorer, 138.
Thompson, ——, Winnebago superintendent, 410.
Thompson, Job, creditor of Green Bay school, 461.
Thompson, Lewis, 295.
Thompson, Col. Samuel M., in Black Hawk war, 233.
Thomson, Peter G., publishes *King's Mountain*, 14, 21.
Three Rivers (Canada), 435.
Throckmorton, Capt. John, in Black Hawk war, 257.
Thwaites, Reuben Gold, 299; "Lyman Copeland Draper: A Memoir," 1–22; edits "American Fur Company Employees — 1818–19," 154–169; "Story of the Black Hawk War," 216–265; obtains narrative of Moses Paquette, "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes," 399–433; edits "Early schools in Green Bay," 453–465; editorial notes, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32–41, 43–51, 53, 54 56–58, 60–69, 78–80, 82–85, 87, 89, 91, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 104, 108–112, 115–118, 121, 123, 126, 133, 136, 138, 140, 144, 146, 149, 170, 172, 176–179, 184–190, 198, 202, 204, 206, 266, 267, 270–272, 274–280, 284, 285, 287–290, 292, 299, 335, 390, 391, 399–407, 409, 410, 412, 414, 415, 417, 418, 423, 424, 427, 429–434.
Tide, in Green bay, 190.
"Tigress," English schooner, 152.
Timms grove (Ill.), 243.
Tinctons. *See* Sioux.
Todd, Andrew, fur trader, 78.
Todd, Charles S., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Todd & McGill, fur traders, 78, 96.
Tomah, Menomonee chief, 151, 152.
Tomah (town), Winnebagoes at, 417, 420, 429.
Tommy Jimmy, Seneca chief, 3.
Totogatic river, origin of name, 397.
Towles, N., Brothertown chief, 192.
Tracy, Jean Baptiste, intendant of New France, 436.
Trague, Battis, fur-trade employee, 168.
Trempealeau county, removal of Winnebagoes, 414, 416.
Trowbridge, C. C., bank cashier, 181; report to Cass, 212.
Troy (Wis.), Swiss at, 347.
Trumpi family, origin of name, 337.
Tschudi family, origin of name, 337.
Tschudy, J. J., pioneer Swiss immigrant, 365, 370, 375, 376, 381, 382.

Tuller, Charles, fur trader, 295.
Turcotte, Pierre, fur-trade employee, 168.
Turkey river (Iowa), Winnebago mission on, 405, 406, 431.
Turner, Prof. Frederick J., 299.
Turner, O., *History of the Holland Land Purchase*, 172.
Turpin, Amable, fur-trade employee, 168.
Turtle village, of Winnebagoes, 246.
Tuscarora Indians, Draper's relations with, 6, 191.
Two Crows, a Winnebago, 417.
Two Rivers, fur trade at, 295.

Ullrich, Pierre, Green Bay settler, 130, 454.
Ulrique. *See* Ullrich.
Underwood, Joseph R., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Upham, Edward, fur-trade employee, 168.
Usher's landing (Dak.), Winnebagoes at, 410.

Van Braam, Jacob, Draper's sketch of, 20.
Van Steenwyck, Gysbert, immigration commissioner, 319, 320.
Varin, ——, fur trader, 157.
Varin, Charles, fur-trade employee, 168.
Varin, Louis, cooper at Mackinaw, 61.
Vassean, Jacques, fur-trade employee, 168.
Vasseur, ——, blacksmith at Mackinaw, 61.
Vasseur, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 168.
Vattas, John, English officer, letter to, 38.
Veau. *See* Vieau.
Verville, Charles Gautier de, in Revolutionary war, 35, 40, 45, 50, 63; letter to Ford, 57; in British employ, after the Revolution, 69, 81; charges against, 97–100.
Verwyst, Rev. Chrysostom, "Geographical names in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, having a Chippewa origin," 390–398; *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Allouez*, 390, 391, 435, 445.
Vidall, Antoine, fur-trade employee, 168.
Vieau, Andrew J., cited, 189.
Vieau, Jacques, Green Bay settler, 127.
Villemenne, Jean Bt., fur-trade employee, 168.
Vincennes (Ind.), Clark's expedition to, 7.
Vincent, Gen. ——, English officer, 146.
Vincent, Benjamin, fur-trade employee, 168.
Virginia, Dunmore's governorship, 48.
Virginia valley, first Indian fight in, 7.

Wabase. *See* Rabbit.
Wabash river, Clark's expedition on, 50; in war of 1812–15, 144; American fur trade on, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169; in Black Hawk war, 223.
Wabasha, Sioux chief, in Revolutionary war, 49; in war of 1812–15, 116, 140, 144, 151; in Black Hawk war, 258, 261.
Waubenenie, an Indian, 458, 459.
Waddams grove (Ill.), 243.
Wahjamega (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Wakefield, John A., *History of the Black Hawk War*, 217, 232, 240, 252, 254, 256, 257, 260, 261.
Walker, Gov. William, Wyandot chief, 6.
Walker's point (Milwaukee), 393.
Walking Turtle (Caramaunee), Winnebago chief, 408.
Wallace, Wm. H., fur-trade employee, 168.
Walsworth, ——, marries Paquette's widow, 404.
Walton (N. Y.), 170.
Waneka, origin of name, 397.
Wapello, Fox chief, 219.
War department, early purchases for, 267, 268.
Ward, Capt. James, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 6.
War Eagle. *See* Chachipkaka.
Warner, Goodrich, fur-trade employee, 168.
Warren, James Henry, home missionary, 442.
Warren, Lyman Marcus, fur trader, 441, 442.
Warren, Truman Abraham, fur trader, 441.
Warren, William Whipple, authority on Chippewas, 395, 396, 435, 439, 440, 445, 446.
Warrenton (Mo.), Swiss in, 346.
"Warrior," steamer in, Black Hawk war, 257–260, 263, 287, 288.
Wars, French and Indian, 23, 28; early struggles for Northwest, 7; Revolutionary, 2–4, 6, 7, 14, 27, 39–69, 133, 170; of 1812–15, 1, 2, 6, 7, 108–153, 220, 221, 226; of Napoleon, 340; Creek, 3, 6; Red Bird uprising (1827), 270, 289, 428; Black Hawk, 216–298, 430, 431; Mexican, 271; Crimean, 368; of Secession, 311, 376, 450.
Warsaw (N. Y.), 177.
Washburne, E. B., 245.
Washington, D. C., 139, 262, 268–270, 407, 409.
Washington (Green county), Swiss in, 338, 368.
Washington county, Germans in, 324.

Waters, John, storekeeper at Mackinaw, 61.
Watertown, early military road, 331.
Watson, B., patron of Green Bay school, 460.
Waubakeeshik. *See* White Cloud.
Waubanakee. *See* Oneida.
Waucedah (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Waugoshance island (Mich.), origin of name, 397.
Waukegan (Ill.), origin of name, 397.
Waukesha, origin of name, 397, 398.
Waunakee, origin of name, 398.
Waupun, origin of name, 398.
Wausau, origin of name, 398; first railroad to, 331; Winnebagoes near, 413.
Wausaukee river, origin of name, 398.
Wauwatosa, origin of name, 398.
Wave, Menomonee chief, 193.
Wawbose, Menomonee chief, 297.
Wawenesse, a Chippewa, murdered by whites, 96, 97.
Wayne, Anthony, Indian campaigns of, 7, 9.
Weatherford, Creek chief, 3, 20.
Weaver, ——, English officer, 114.
Webaul, J. Bt., fur-trade employee, 169.
Webb & Bronson, purchase Lecuyer claim, 432.
Weenusate, a Menomonee chief, 140.
Wells, ——, pioneer preacher, 179, 181.
Wendal, ——, 199.
We-que-ton-sing (Mich.), origin of name, 398.
Wesel (Germany), emigration from, 316.
Wesselhöft, Dr. ——, German editor, 305.
West Bureau Creek (Ill.), in Black Hawk war, 228, 232.
Westphalia (Germany), emigration from, 304, 325, 326
West Point military academy, 270.
West Virginia, Sandy Creek expedition in, 7; Point Pleasant campaign, 7.
Wettstein, Theodore, induces German immigration, 316, 317, 318; *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin*, 310, 326.
Wetzel, Lewis, Indian fighter, 6, 9.
Weyauwega, origin of name, 398.
Wheankkaw. *See* Big Duck.
Wheeler, Edward Payson, authority on Chippewa orthography, 434, 435, 440.
Wheeler, Harriet E., missionary at La Pointe, 443, 447–449.
Wheeler, Leonard Hemenway, missionary at La Pointe, 447–452.
Whirling Thunder, Winnebago chief, 402.
Whistler, Major William, patron of Green Bay school, 454, 458–460.
White Cloud, Winnebago prophet, 224, 227, 231, 232, 239, 258, 261; sketch, 224.
White Crow, Winnebago chief, 243, 245, 248, 250, 431.
White, Hugh L., trans-Alleghany pioneer, 4.
Whiteman, Gen. Benjamin, trans-Alleghany pioneer, 6.
White Oak Springs, in Black Hawk war, 232.
White Pawnee (Pania Blanc), a Winnebago, 431, 432.
White river, 208.
Whiteside, Gen. Samuel, in Black Hawk war, 234, 235, 240–242.
Whitewater river, in Black Hawk war, 248, 272.
Whitley, ——, an Indian fighter, 9.
Whitney, Daniel, fur trader, in Black Hawk war, 284, 295; letter from Boyd, 274; patron of Green Bay school, 465; sketch, 274.
Whittlesey creek, supposed site of Allouez's mission, 435.
Wild, ——, assists Swiss immigrants, 346.
Wild, Hilarius, pioneer Swiss immigrant, 367.
Wild, Joshua, saw-miller, 375.
Wilkin, ——, a Detroit lawyer, 179.
Wilkinson, James, American general-in-chief, 106; letter to England, 100.
Willett, François, fur-trade employee, 168.
Williams, Eleazer, Menomonee missionary, 21, 185, 190, 192, 198.
Williams, J., English solicitor-general, 84.
Williams, J. R., 181.
Willoughby (Ontario), 153.
Wilson's banditti, Draper's sketch of, 20.
Wilstach & Co., Charles F., publishers for Draper, 21.
Winchester (Iowa), Swiss in, 346.
Wingville, in Black Hawk war, 232.
Winnebago Indians, English fur trade with, 78, 80–82, 84, 90; in Revolutionary war, 60; in war of 1812–15, 116, 117, 141, 144, 146, 150–152, at council of 1830, 172–215; in Black Hawk war, 223–225, 227, 231, 233, 236, 239, 242, 243, 245, 247–252, 254, 255, 257, 258, 261, 262, 264, 265, 268, 270, 279, 286, 289, 297; Presbyterian mission to, 404, 406. *At treaties*—(1827), 289; (1829), 403, 404; (1832), 403, 405; (1846), 407; (1855), 409; (1865), 410; (1866), 410. "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes," 399–433.
Winnebago county, early military road, 331; Germans in, 316.
Winneconne, origin of name, 398.

Winneschick, Old, Winnebago chief, 431.
Winneschick, Young, a Winnebago, 431.
Winona (Minn.), 258.
Winona prairie, Winnebagoes on, 407.
Winsor, Justin, 14.
Winter, Illinois pioneer, 228.
Winter, Fran., fur trader, 78, 82.
Winter, H. A., induces German immigration, 318.
Wiota, founded, 270, 271; in Black Hawk war, 232; Swiss at, 360.
Wisconsin (Territory and state), origin of name, 398; origin of geographical names in, 390–398; visited by Radisson and Groseilliers, 434, 435; early Jesuit missions, 434–438; Ainsée's expedition (1787), 84–91; in war of 1812-15, 108–132; Indian council of 1830, 170–215; "Story of the Black Hawk War," 216–265; causes of German immigration to, 299–324; Swiss colonization in, 335–382; early legislative printing, 383–389; Winnebago Indians in, 399–433; "Missions on Chequamegon Bay," 434–452. *See* also, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Langlade, Verville, Fur-trade, Indians, etc.
Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, 220 299, 335; its inception, 10–13; Draper's services for, 16–19; *Collections*, 16–19, 21–23, 25, 28, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47, 49–51, 54, 56, 60, 61, 63, 65–69, 108, 111, 115–118, 123, 126, 133, 149, 150, 177, 178, 187, 189, 190, 198, 204, 217, 228, 233, 242. 243, 245, 250, 251, 256, 257, 261, 266, 270, 272, 274, 275, 277, 279, 280, 287, 299, 331, 335, 336, 341, 368, 373, 375, 391, 400, 401, 402, 404, 407, 410, 429, 432, 434, 441, 453.
Wisconsin, University of, 299; founding of library, 13; public lands for, 321, 332, 335.
Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, Transactions of, 299.
Wisconsin Central Railroad Company, 401; induces German immigration, 329, 331–333.
Wisconsin Heights, battle of, 253–256, 263, 264.
Wisconsin river, 274, 312, 347; Radisson and Groseilliers on, 437, 438; Menard on, 435; Joliet and Marquette on, 437; English fur trade on, 80, 85, 134, 135, 137, 139; American fur trade on, 169, 295; at Portage, 399–402, 404, 431, 432; as a boundary (1804), 218, 219; in Black Hawk war, 229, 239, 249, 253, 254, 256–258, 261; Winnebagoes on, 409, 412, 413, 429; Germans on, 325, 328, 330, 331.
Wisconsin Valley railroad, 331.
Withers, Alexander S., *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 4, 15, 20.,
Wolf river, 330; Menomonees on, 292.
Wonewoc, origin of name, 398.
Wood, Abraham, quarrels with White Pawnee, 431.
Wood county, public lands in, 321; Germans in, 330, 331.
Woodbridge, Adjutant ——, in Black Hawk war, 251.
Wool, Gen. ——, 179.
Worsley, Lieut. ——, English officer, 152.
Wroth, Elisha, fur-trade employee, 168.
Wupper valley (Germany), emigration from, 317.
Würtemburg, emigration from, 325.
Wyandot Indians, Draper among, 6.
Wyoming, (Pa.), massacre, 6.

Yellow Banks (Mo.), Black Hawk at, 231, 240, 244, 261.
Yellow river (Iowa), Winnebagoes on, 405, 406, 408, 413, 432.
Yellow Thunder, Winnebago chief, 409, 428, 429.
York (Canada), in war of 1812-15, 111, 112, 125, 148.
York (Green county), 375.
York, Duke of, letter to Prevost, 121.
Yott, Brisque. *See* Hyott, Prisque.
Young, George Edward, assaults an Indian, 96.

Zeigler, Alexander, induces German immigration, 317, 318; *Skizzen eine Reise durch Nordamerika und Westindien*, 312.
Zimmerman, J. C., assemblyman, 375.
Zimmermann, John, pastor of New Glarus, 372.
Zurich (Switzerland), emigration from, 351,